800 c 9

THE

HISTORY

OF

Ancient and Modern EGYPT:

COMPREHENDING

A View of the Natural Phænomena; the Efforts of Genius and Art; and the Moral, Religious, Commercial, and Political Tranſactions of the Egyptians, from the earlieſt Dawn of Intelligence, to the lateſt Period of authentic Information.

COMPRISING LIKEWISE,

A COMPARISON BETWIXT THE ANCIENT AND PRESENT STATE OF EGYPT,

AND A PHILOSOPHIC VIEW OF THOSE REMARKABLE PRODUCTIONS

Connected with the Hiſtory of that Country.

From the most authentic Records.

BY J. FRANKLIN, ESQ.

Vol. III.

LONDON:

Publiſhed and ſold by Weſt and Hughes, No. 40, Paternoſter-Row; and J. Mitchell, Newcaſtle upon Tyne.

1802.

BRITISH MUSEUM

41.
10. 8.
3.

Newcastle on Tyne,
Printed by J. Mitchell, Dean-street.

CONTENTS

TO VOL. III.

CHAP. I.

Historical view of the state of Egypt under Octavius Cæsar (surnamed Augustus), as a Roman province; with its history under the different emperors till the period of the Saracen empire, founded by Mahomed, or the time of the caliphs. page 1

CHAP. II.

The life, doctrines, and success of Mahomed; with the history of the caliphs, his successors, so far as relates to Egypt, till the time of Saladin, and the extinction of the caliphate. page 74

CHAP. III.

The establishment of the Ayubite dynasty in Egypt, and the history of the princes of that house. page 200

CHAP. IV.

From the conquest of Egypt by Selim I. of Turkey, to the treaty of Campo Formio in 1797. page 344

CHAP. V.

From Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt till the evacuation of the country by the French. page 375

CONTENTS

TO VOL. III.

CHAP. I.

Historical view of the state of Egypt under Octavius Cæsar (surnamed Augustus), as a Roman province; with its history under the different emperors till the period of the Saracen empire, founded by Mahomed, or the time of the caliphs. page 1

CHAP. II.

The life, doctrines, and success of Mahomed; with the history of the caliphs, his successors, so far as relates to Egypt, till the time of Saladin, and the extinction of the caliphate. page 14

CHAP. III.

The establishment of the Ayubite dynasty in Egypt, and the history of the princes of that house. page 200

CHAP. IV.

From the conquest of Egypt by Selim I. of Turkey, to the treaty of Campo Formio in 1797. page 244

CHAP. V.

From Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt till the evacuation of the country by the French. page 375

HISTORY
OF
ANCIENT AND MODERN
EGYPT.

SECTION 3.

CHAP. I.

Hiſtorical view of the ſtate of Egypt under Octavius Cæſar (ſurnamed Auguſtus), as a Roman province; with its hiſtory under the different emperors, till the period of the Saracen empire, founded by Mahomed, or the time of the Caliphs.

THE victory which Octavius obtained before the city of Actium, with the conſequent ruin of Antony's affairs in Egypt, occaſioned a new epoch in the hiſtory of the world. The contention betwixt the two rivals for power was at an end, and the ambitious hopes of Cæſar were ſealed with complete ſucceſs. His views of aggrandizement were effectually realized; "Roman freedom" was become a "tinkling ſymbal," without a meaning; and the

glories of the republic were now centered in the wiſhes and caprices of the *great* Auguſtus---a name aſſumed by him, in order to conceal the odium under which the idea of *king* or *monarch* was held by the Romans.

The untimely death of Cleopatra terminated the long line of Ptolemean princes; and in order to obliterate every veſtige of Egyptian independence, Octavius threw down the ſtatues of Antony in Alexandria, aboliſhed their public aſſemblies and national councils, and prohibited the Egyptian nobles removing from home. The two ſons and a daughter which Cleopatra had by Antony, were tranſported to Rome, and doomed to ornament his triumph; but of their ultimate fate, hiſtory is entirely ſilent, except that Cleopatra the daughter was adopted into the family of the virtuous Octavia. In all theſe arrangements Octavius conſulted the permament eſtabliſhment of his power, and the annihilation of every party which could inſtigate tumult or revolt, or ſow the ſeeds of diſaffection to his government. To remove, alſo, every probable means of fomenting intrigues, or views of an ambitious nature, he appointed Cornelius Gallus,* a Roman knight of equeſtrian rank and moderate pretenſions, to be the firſt prefect over the Egyptian people. And in order to preſerve the government of ſo important a territory unendangered, he

* The famous poet to whom Virgil dedicated his 10th Eclogue.

made it a rule that similar qualifications should be invariably attended to in future governors, and that one year alone should be the duration of their power.

Egypt, thus stripped of its regal decorations and its monarchical form of government, appeared, like the steed relieved from cumbersome trappings, to be more tractable, more energetic, and more useful. Under the direction of Octavius, the public works which had been neglected for several reigns were put into repair, and the inundations were by that means distributed equally over Egypt, and fertilized the whole extent of country from the cataracts to the ocean. Commerce was revived betwixt the Red Sea and the Indies, and the exhuberant riches of the eastern hemisphere were poured from Alexandria into the lap of Italy. These agricultural and commercial improvements, while they supplied the wants and pampered the desires of Rome, at the same time enriched the Egyptians who were employed in the traffic. They frequently, however, experienced those occasional interruptions in their trade and their prosperity, from the executive government, similar to what was experienced under their kings, till the power of Augustus, who always perceived the policy of conciliatory measures, interfered, and granted them redress.

Among the numerous instances wherein Octavius interposed in a salutary manner to remove every appearance of oppression, the first which he displayed,

in the removal of Cornelius Gallus from the prefecture of Egypt, is the moſt conſpicuous. That officer had upon ſeveral perilous occaſions given proofs of his friendſhip and attachment to Auguſtus, and the conqueror in return appointed him viceroy over Egypt. Cornelius was an amiable character in private life, was the friend of Virgil, and while a ſubordinate officer in Cæſar's ſervice, a man of diſtinguiſhed merit: But the flowing cup of proſperity requires a ſteady hand. He had ſcarcely been elevated to the dignity of a ruler, than he forgot the duty which he owed to Auguſtus, and the reſpect to the people whom he governed. An undiſtinguiſhed rapacity, and an immoderate ſhare of vanity and inſolence, were his ruling paſſions; and while he ſtripped the moſt wealthy cities of their riches and ornaments, he levied contributions with the auſterity of a tyrant. Thebes, the famous city of antiquity, was bereft of every valuable veſtige which Ptolemy Lathyrus had left or overlooked, ſeveral ſtatues were erected by his orders in praiſe of himſelf, and the feats in arts and arms which he had performed, were ordered to be inſcribed upon the pyramids. Such a mode of conduct ſoon reached the imperial ear, and the haughty deputy was diſgracefully hurled from the ſtation to which he had been raiſed. Gallus was recalled from his government, and confined by the orders of Octavius to his eſtate. But he could not endure a reverſe of fortune under ſuch indignity, and he voluntarily

put a period to his life, declaiming againſt Cæſar for the injuſtice of his treatment.

In the period we are treating of, hiſtory is unuſually ſilent reſpecting the tranſactions throughout the provinces of the Roman empire. Having loſt their conſequence along with their independence, it was only in affairs of war, of inſurrection, or of ſome remarkable political occurrences, that the names of provinces occurred, and even under theſe circumſtances it was only the hiſtorical tranſactions of their lords and maſters. With reſpect to Egypt, it was the richeſt province of the empire, and, on that account, was foſtered by Auguſtus with the care of a parent, ſolicitous to preſerve his authority, and at the ſame time anxious about the welfare of his charge. In that ſolicitude, however, it was evident he conſulted his intereſt, his ambition, his ſecurity, and his popularity. The fertility of Egypt was brought to its utmoſt extent, and it annually ſupplied the wants of Italy (a country then of immenſe population) for the ſpace of four months. Its commerce was likewiſe an inexhauſtible mine of wealth for Octavius, which ſix provinces of the empire could not equal; and it is even mentioned that the Roman exchequer was in the annual receipt of more than the value of four millions ſterling.

Such a country, under ſuch a maſter, became the favorite topic of the poets, and was an excellent ſubject for the adulation of courtiers. Auguſtus, how-

ever, was never ſo far elated with his proſperity, as to forget the intereſts of the empire, or neglect that popularity which he had ſo ſtudiouſly cultivated and acquired. Every evening he devoted a certain portion of his time in forming a report to the ſenate of the ſtate of the empire, and no kind of amuſement or avocation could divert him from the performance of that imperial duty. Very unlike the unmeaning indolence and parade of modern royalty, he minutely ſuperintended and kept a watchful eye over the public adminiſtration of affairs; ſo that even his enemies that ſtill lurked in the boſom of the empire, were forced to acknowledge his judicious government and his political wiſdom. His uſurpation, from the benignity of his manners, was ſoon forgotten; and his former acts of baſeneſs and tyranny were ſwallowed up by ſubſequent acts of political juſtice and public utility.

Though it ſeems to have been a ſettled reſolution with Auguſtus, not to extend the limits of the empire, but to cultivate the blandiſhments of peace; yet the hope of acquiring an immenſe ſtore of riches, or of getting acceſs to treaſures which were only known to the Arabians, induced him to prepare a formidable armament to reduce that people to his power. Ælius Gallus, the third prefect over Egypt, was entruſted with the expedition; and a powerful fleet of 130 ſail was embarked upon the Red Sea, to obtain the object of his avarice. The Arabians, innured to

fatigue, and daily in the habit of rapidly making extenſive journies (as in the preſent day), eluded the purſuit of a Roman army, and baffled every attempt of Gallus to make a permanent impreſſion on their country. Diſappointed likewiſe in their proſpect, of which only common rumour had been their authority, the army returned to Alexandria after an abſence of two years, reduced by want of water and diſeaſe to only one-third of their original number.

But this loſs was not the only calamity which the abſence of the army and the Roman prefect had occaſioned. Candaces, queen of Ethiopia, with a ſimilar policy to that of modern monarchs, took advantage of the weakneſs of Egypt to overrun the province of Thebais and lay waſte the ſurrounding country. The cities of Syene, Elephantine, and Phylæ, which were each occupied by a Roman garriſon, were the principal objects of devaſtation and plunder. The houſes were ranſacked of every valuable; the ſtatues erected in honor of Auguſtus were thrown down and mutilated; and the Roman ſoldiers were carried into captivity. Such, indeed, was the ravages committed through Upper Egypt, that the labour of years could only be able to repair them; and C. Petronius, the deputy governor, was for ſeveral months unable to check her progreſs. Having collected, however, an army from Lybia and Aſia Minor, of about 10,000 men and 1,000 cavalry, he haſtened to act offenſively againſt the turbulent invader; and,

after ſeveral ſucceſsful ſkirmiſhes, brought her army to a general engagement on the borders of Ethiopia. The battle, though deſperate, terminated in the deſtruction of her army, which was about three times ſtronger than that of Petronius, and its reſult placed the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes of her kingdom in poſſeſſion of the Romans. Diſcomfited, and reduced to the mercy of the conqueror, ſhe effectually atoned for her raſh invaſion of Egypt, by purchaſing an inglorious peace with becoming annually tributary to the Roman empire.

The anxiety which Auguſtus diſplayed on the news of this Ethiopian invaſion, teſtified the great affection he bore to his Egyptian province. He even departed from Rome, and proceeded through Greece, Aſia Minor, and arrived in Syria, in order to ſuperintend in perſon the defence of this favorite kingdom, when he was met by ambaſſadors from Candaces, to implore for peace. The ſucceſſes of Petronius rendered his preſence unavailing in Egypt; and he returned to Rome with the firm reſolution of cultivating the bleſſings of peace, and of ceaſing to extend the dominions of the empire. The temple of Janus was about this period a third time ſhut, and JESUS CHRIST, the ſon of Joſeph and Mary, and founder of the chriſtian æra, was ſoon after born.

It is unneceſſary to our ſubject, to enter minutely into the ſeries of events which paved the way for the introduction of chriſtianity and its concomitant doc-

times; but as the propagation of its religion operated eſſentially to change the political affairs of ſociety, we muſt in future notice the conſpicuous parts of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, in order to preſent a perſpicuous narrative of Egyptian politics. And likewiſe, as nothing in particular took place in Egypt, from the period of the Ethiopian invaſion till the commencement of that remarkable epoch, we ſhall now continue our modern hiſtory, by obſerving a ſimilar conformity in our dates to other recent hiſtorians.

The changes, the laws, and the inſtitutions which Auguſtus had effected throughout every province of the empire, were perceived to be ſalutary; but to Egypt in particular, the laws and regulations of his reign became for many years an uninterrupted ſource of happineſs and proſperity. Being under the immediate inſpection of the emperor, who was particularly careful in the appointment of truſty dependants, Egypt became the repoſitory of the perſecuted or the unfortunate throughout the ſurrounding kingdoms. Even the inoffenſive Joſeph and the innocent JESUS were ſhielded from the rage and perſecution of Herod, the haughty governor of Judea, by taking refuge in Egypt. The fine arts were indeed upon the decline, and literature became neglected, after the demiſe of Cleopatra; but the arts of civilization and the pleaſures of urbanity were more extenſively cultivated, and commerce, trade, and internal proſperity, were arrived at the pinnacle of their greatneſs. Such

a ſtate of felicity, unequalled in the period of their kings, familiarized the proud ſpirits of the Egyptians to the loſs of their independence; and having a perfect liberty to exerciſe their religion, without check or controul, they became reconciled to a degradation, which, though ideal, is a formidable conſideration, when antiquity and education are its advocates.

This happy age, to which the poets ſo devoutly refer, continued with little interruption during the long reign of the accompliſhed Auguſtus. On the death of that prince, which happened in the 14th year of the chriſtian æra, and 45 years after the battle of Actium, a few of the republicans who ſurvived the wreck of Pompey and of Cato's parties, endeavoured to foment a revolution; but the recollection of former proſcriptions and civil wars, when placed in oppoſition to the glorious reign of Auguſtus, induced them, after ſeveral meetings, to drop their patriotic reſolutions, and purſue the plan of ſucceſſion which the late emperor had adopted.

TIBERIUS CÆSAR,

The adopted ſon of Cæſar, but in reality the ſon of Tiberius Claudius Nero and Livia, who were formerly his declared enemies, was appointed the heir of Auguſtus, and his ſucceſſor as Roman emperor. For ſeveral years he deported himſelf to the ſenate with the deference of a good ſovereign, and to the people as an affectionate father. But no ſooner did he find

that his power was firmly eſtabliſhed, than he diſcloſed the character of a jealous, gloomy tyrant, and ſeemed to delight in ſporting with the lives of the worthieſt of his ſubjects. He overrun the empire with ſpies and informers, and filled the dungeons in every province with men of eminent endowments and unſullied virtues. The dread of falling under the ſuſpicion of theſe minions of power, diffuſed a ſullen gloom over the countenances of every man of any conſequence throughout the empire; and the common privileges of ſocial intercourſe was even deemed dangerous and imprudent. Inſidious charges were brought againſt ſeveral of the warmeſt friends of Cæſar, and they were doomed to ſuffer the moſt barbarous ſpecies of torture, for the abominable purpoſes of extorting confeſſions of crimes, of which, perhaps, they were never guilty. Tiberius himſelf was daily preſent in viewing theſe horrible cruelties, and he frequently cautioned the executioners, when employed in their bloody work, "Sentiant ſe mori," *Let them feel that they are dying.* In one of theſe inſtances to which we allude, one worthy character happened to expire under the torture, when the emperor exclaimed, with a ſigh of diſappointment, "Evaſit," *he has eſcaped me.*

With theſe diſpoſitions, it was not to be expected that Egypt ſhould be exempted from the effects of his malignant diſpoſition. On the contrary, a governor was deputed of a ſimilar character with himſelf; and to increaſe their miſery and the turpitude of his con-

duct, he was seldom removed, except in the non-execution of his master's orders. Egypt, therefore, during a reign of twenty years, the period of Tiberius's lifetime, was doomed to groan under the accumulated miseries of oppression, rapine, and cruelty. Their fertile fields were sown and reaped for the sole use of their oppressors, the people were famishing in the midst of plenty, and their remonstrances were replied to by being loaded with fetters and thrown into dungeons. The public granaries were annually filled, for the purpose of being exported to Italy; and when the worthy Germanicus paid a visit to Egypt, while in Asia, to view their monuments of antiquity, he relieved the unparalleled distresses of the people by his benevolence, and by ordering the corn to be distributed at a moderate price. But the jealousy of Tiberius was alarmed, and he peremptorily ordered Germanicus from the country, where he so humanely exerted himself for the happiness of the people. Nor did his resentment stop here: the unhappy prince was unremittingly, though secretly, persecuted by the orders of Tiberius, and he was at length poisoned, not without strong suspicion of imperial orders.

The continuance of such measures for a number of years, was the lot of the unhappy Egyptians; nor did they experience a respite from their calamities, till the reigns of

CALIGULA, CLAUDIUS, AND NERO,

Were elapsed.—The distracted state of Egypt under

Caligula was equalled only by the unjuſt perſecutions of the Jews—a nation that was ſucceſſively the ſport of civil commotion in their own country, and of public deteſtation abroad. Their religion was every where tolerated, when their prieſts were prudent, and the civil magiſtrates were wiſe. But their religious education was too often ſo intolerant, that they profeſſed a contemptuous regard for every thing foreign to their own conceptions; and their contumely was always particularly ſevere, whenever they were armed with power. Their extenſive eſtabliſhments and commercial connections which they had formed in Egypt, during the time of the Ptolemies, had increaſed under Auguſtus to a pitch of unequalled magnitude and proſperity; and it was only by the unjuſt rapacity of Tiberius, that that proſperity was in any degree impaired. But the tyranny of Caligula infuſed a bitter portion into their daily cup. Not contented with exhorbitant exactions, he ſuffered them to be plundered, and deprived of every veſtige of their former liberty. Under the prefecture of Avillius Flaccus, a creature entirely at the will of the tyrant, an edict was publiſhed, annulling their right as citizens of Alexandria, and which treated them as aliens and as enemies to the public peace. The ſeeds of religious animoſity were infuſed into the minds of the Egyptians, and the unfortunate Jews were held in a ſtate of public reproach and degradation. The cry of hereſy is

an excellent weapon among fanatics, in the hands of a crafty demagogue; for when once the public paſſions are afloat, they may be directed to the devaſtation of a city, or the ſubverſion of a government. This abandoned policy of villifying the Jews incited a perſecution, which was carried on throughout the whole of Egypt, but particularly at Alexandria, with all the cruelty which malignity could invent. Their property was, in the firſt place, carried off in the face of day, and they were then driven from their habitations, and cooped into a narrow corner of the city, where they were doomed to famiſh for want, or, in attempting to eſcape, were maſſacred by an enraged populace. In the different parts of Egypt, ſimilar ſcenes were perpetrated; nor was there a period to ſuch acts of injuſtice and horror, till the reign of Caligula was at an end.

The remiſſneſs and impotence of the reign of Claudius, left the government of the provinces in ſimilar hands with thoſe of his predeceſſor. But the profligacy of Nero's reign ſo much exceeded every former period, as to leave us no term of ſpeech too degrading or reproachful. Immerſed in one unvaried ſcene of depravity, his cruelties and barbarities would pain the eye of humanity to peruſe, and would be unneceſſary for our hiſtory to detail. Suffice it, then, that to mention his reign along with his three precurſors, occupied a period of 54 years, and in him the power

of the family of Cæſar was extinct.—In the 69th year of the chriſtian æra,

GALBA,

The general of the Spaniſh legions, was raiſed to the imperial throne; but he ſcarcely had been ſeated a few months, when the intrigues of

OTHO

Eclipſed his power. Bribing the ſenate and cajoling the ſoldiers were the means by which this rapid change was accompliſhed; but the armies throughout the provinces were not conſulted. In lower Germany in particular, the ſoldiers were offended at the Roman cohorts for their election; and

VITELLIUS,

Was ſoon after proclaimed emperor upon their authothority. The diſpute came to the deciſion of arms, and Otho, being defeated, put a period to his life, when the ſupreme power devolved upon his ſucceſsful antagoniſt.

Amid theſe rapid changes, the legions of Egypt, Syria, Aſia Minor, and Greece, did not participate. They nevertheleſs looked with a jealous eye upon ſuch contentions for dominion, and were reſolved, in their turn, to make choice of an emperor of their own creation. In the eaſtern provinces, there had been little exertion for the Roman ſoldiers, or any opportunities of diſplaying their proweſs, ſince the time of Auguſtus. But Judea had recently been the theatre for war, and Veſpaſian, an officer who had been ap-

pointed by Nero, diſplayed ſuch ſuperior abilities in that important conteſt, (which annihilated the power of the Jews) that he was almoſt unanimouſly requeſted by the army to aſſume the imperial command. Antonius Primus entered Italy with a formidable army, and the power of Vitellius being terminated by the fate of a battle,

VESPASIAN

Was declared emperor, by the unanimous conſent of both the ſenate and the armies.

In this new change of affairs, Alexander, the prefect of Egypt, had a conſpicuous ſhare; and Veſpaſian, before he paſſed into Italy, was formally inveſted with authority in the city of Alexandria. The attachment which the Egyptians diſplayed, indeed, to the cauſe of Veſpaſian, was perhaps the principal means of obtaining ſuch an unuſual acquieſcence with his authority among all parties in Rome. During his reſidence in Egypt, and while Primus was preſſing his army to the capital, the uſual ſupply of corn was withheld from Italy, and the party of Vitellius inſenſibly diminiſhed from an apprehenſion of famine. Immediately, however, when Veſpaſian's power was eſtabliſhed in Rome, the corn of Egypt was ſent thither in abundance; and the emperor followed afterwards from Alexandria, amid the univerſal approbation of all parties in the empire.

The prudence and wiſdom which the new emperor diſplayed, on his acceſſion to power, may properly en-

title him to the epithet of a *ſecond Auguſtus*. The government of the provinces was entruſted to able and judicious hands, and Egypt was among the firſt which participated in his juſtice and wiſe regulations. His reign, which continued for ten years, was a happy æra for mankind; and, if we except the calamitous war which his ſon Titus carried on againſt the Jews, was alſo a period of happineſs, proſperity, and tranquillity, for the whole empire.

TITUS,

His eldeſt ſon, quietly ſucceeded to the imperial throne, and followed the footſteps of Veſpaſian with an equally ardent wiſh for the intereſts of mankind. The benevolence of his mind was ſo great, that he regretted he was not every where preſent, in order to alleviate the miſeries and misfortunes to which every man was liable; and he was diſſatisfied when a day had tranſpired, without having rendered ſome beneficial ſervice. His memorable apothegm, "*Amici diem perdidi!*" "My friends, I have loſt a day!" is too remarkable to be overlooked; and it were to be wiſhed that ſuch a ſentiment was retained in the memory of our modern princes. To the regret of the empire, his reign was abridged to the ſhort period of two years and a quarter, when his brother Domitian ſucceeded to the throne, not without ſtrong ſuſpicion of having paved the way by poiſon.

DOMITIAN.

The beginning of this reign was founded in hypo-

criſy, and diſplayed the ſemblance of virtues, which a few years diſcloſed to be fallacious. Inſtead of purſuing thoſe laudable examples which his father and brother performed, he diſſipated the firſt few years of his reign in frivolous amuſements, and the latter part in ſimilar diſgraceful cruelties which diſtinguiſhed the reign of Nero. The particulars of his 15 years reign are written in blood; and, along with nine of the preceding emperors, he received his death from the hands of conſpirators, which occurred in the 96th year of our æra, and concluded the reign of thoſe emperors vulgarly called the *Twelve Cæſars*.

NERVA,

A man of tried virtue, of unaſſuming modeſty, and of great moderation, was elected by the ſenate to wield the imperial ſceptre. He continued in that ſituation, diſpenſing the bleſſings of juſtice, of peace, and of mercy, till a fever put a period to his life, after a ſhort reign of only 16 months.

TRAJAN,

Known only to the late emperor for his virtues and abilities, was adopted as the ſucceſſor to the empire, to the excluſion of his own family. Such a diſintereſted choice left an impreſſion ſo favourable to Trajan, that he might have acted the tyrant without incurring the name. But his mind was not formed for principles of oppreſſion. He panted for military glory, and for rendering mankind acts of beneficence by force of arms. His diſtant conqueſts, however,

were more calculated to inſpire renown, than the gratitude of mankind. His expeditions required a greater number of ſoldiers than the military ſtrength of the empire could ſupport; and Egypt, Lybia, and Cyrene, were drained of the legions appropriated for their protection. The Jews, who had long waited an opportunity to revolt, aſſembled in theſe defenceleſs provinces, and, in a moſt ferocious manner, glutted their vengeance upon the inoffenſive inhabitants. Their relentleſs barbarities were ſo ſhocking to humanity, that they even exceed credibility. After butchering their victims, they beſmeared themſelves with their blood, ſawed them aſunder, and caſt them to the wild beaſts. In many inſtances, they deprived men of their ſkins, and wore them; and after inflicting the moſt horrid tortures, would even eat their fleſh. Theſe enormities continued not only in Egypt for ſeveral months, but extended throughout the adjoining provinces, till they were almoſt depopulated. The preſence of Trajan and his army could only arreſt the progreſs of ſuch horrors; but it is melancholy to relate, that this aggreſſion of the Jews was productive of a ſevere and terrible retaliation.—The death of this emperor occurred in the 117th year, after a reign of 19 years and a half; and had not his memory been ſtained with undue ſeverities to the chriſtians, his character as a prince would have been almoſt irreproachable.

ADRIAN,

His nephew, who was general of the Roman forces in the East, succeeded to the imperial purple.—— Equally desirous of promoting the glory of his reign and the happiness of mankind, he pursued a path directly opposite to that of his predecessor; and, instead of preserving those conquests which Trajan had obtained, he withdrew the legions within the ancient limits of the empire. His virtues and his accomplishments were directed to purposes of beneficence and utility; and he was as prompt in the punishment of vice as in the reward of merit. His great foible, or rather imperfection, was, in wanting strength of mind to preserve his principles from deviation; and permitting an inquisitorial jurisdiction over the Christians, will throw a shade over his amiable qualities that panegyrists can never remove. In cultivating the blessings of peace he was indefatigable; and the improvements which he introduced into every province that he visited, left durable monuments of his abilities and solicitude for their welfare.

During a residence of more than two years in Egypt, he revived the study of the sciences, and particularly cultivated those arts admired by the Egyptians. He repaired all the public and private buildings which had felt the destructive ravages of preceding tyrants; and he restored to the inhabitants those civil and commercial privileges of which they had been deprived. After visiting Pelusium, he erected a mau-

ſoleum to the memory of the great Pompey, in the room of a miſerable tomb, which had been almoſt demoliſhed; and performed the uſual obſequies, in honour of that deceaſed hero. The favours which Adrian heaped upon the Alexandrians were productive of ſeveral pillars and ſtatues, in gratitude for his ſervices; but, notwithſtanding theſe liberalities, it did not prevent ſeveral virulent and ſarcaſtic ſatires from being written againſt him and his favourites.

The moſt remarkable circumſtance, however, of Adrian's reſidence in Egypt, was the building of a city, in honour of his favourite Antinous, who was drowned in the Nile. That city, named ANTINOOPOLIS, though undoubtedly raiſed upon the banks of the river, to commemorate the death of this young man, has occaſioned many conjectures as to the reality of the Emperor's motive. The profligacy of manners which ſubſiſted amongſt the Romans at that period has given riſe to the opinion, that the affection which Adrian entertained for him aroſe from an unnatural amour; and in corroboration of this idea, the extreme beauty of Antinous, of whom a ſtatue was long afterwards preſerved, has been, with great plauſibility, alledged. Others, however, leſs illiberal in their opinions, have attributed the building of this elegant city to a motive more congenial with the reputed character of the gentle Adrian.—His gratitude to Antinous, as a tried friend, and a conſtant companion in his moſt diſtant and difficult

journies. According to the superstition and vanity of great men among the Romans, festivals and games were instituted in this city to his memory, and a magnificent tomb, or, according to others, a temple, with several statues, were erected, in order that divine honours might be offered to his name.——The reign of Adrian continued for 22 years; and

ANTONINUS,

His adopted successor, assumed the imperial purple immediately on his death, in the 138th year of our æra. Possessing the amiable virtues of Adrian, without his vices, Antoninus, during a long and prosperous reign of twenty-three years, supported the character of wise, without being weak; and of justice, clemency, and moderation, without any opposite qualities. From his strict integrity and unimpeached morals, the senate conferred the title of PIUS; and they might, with equal propriety, from his wisdom in conducting the affairs of the realm, have included the epithet GREAT.

AURELIUS,

His adopted son, was invested with imperial authority on his death; but with a magnanimity similar to that of his father, received his brother Verus as colleague in the sovereignty. His virtues and political wisdom rendered him equally esteemed with his predecessor; and to Verus alone were any weak or vicious measures to be attributed. Both the empire and his colleague were governed by his prudence;

and if we except a commotion which was excited in Egypt by ſome turbulent Arabs, at the inſtigation of their prieſts, nothing remarkable during his reign can claim our attention. The cauſe of this inſurrection in Egypt is not ſtated by hiſtorians; but as religion was made the pretext, the conteſt, as might be expected, was obſtinate and bloody. The Roman ſoldiers who were ſtationed throughout the country were not only inſufficient to oppoſe their progreſs, but were defeated in a general engagement. All Egypt was by that means ſpeedily overrun, except Alexandria; and had not Caſſius, the prefect of Syria, ſown diſſention among the inſurgents, by that means weakening their power and ultimately inducing them to ſubmit, their army would have become formidable to the Romans, and perhaps might have been able to regain their independence. The wiſdom of Aurelius, however, ſecured the ſubordination of this valuable province, by the appointment of an upright and careful governor; and during the remainder of his reign, which continued for 19 years, and ended in the 180th year of our æra, no circumſtances of hiſtorical moment can claim our attention.

COMMODUS

Succeeded to the empire; but ſo far from diſplaying the abilities, the diſcretion, and the virtues of his predeceſſor, his whole reign was a tiſſue of wantonneſs and folly, cruelty and injuſtice, rapacity and corruption. Similar to the modern ſyſtem of Turkiſh op-

preſſion, he ſold the provinces of the empire annually by auction, in order to procure ſums of money to ſupply his extravagance. The empire, however, is ſaid to be indebted to him, for inſtituting a company of merchants to trade betwixt Africa and Rome; but if that was of ſervice to the Romans, it proved injurious to the intereſts of Egypt, for it not only deprived them of their produce, but of the advantages they derived from commerce.

PERTINAX

Was called to the ſovereignty contrary to his inclination, by the conſpirators againſt the life of Commodus; but his virtues not being ſo accommodating to the unprincipled manners of the ſoldiery, whoſe irregularities he wiſhed to reform, he was put to death by the Pretorian guards, after a ſhort reign of three months. To this outrage the ſoldiers added another equally diſgraceful; the empire was offered to ſale, and adjudged to

JULIANUS

As the higheſt bidder. Two ſhort months, however, was the duration only of his power, when

SEVERUS

The African was placed by his army upon the imperial throne. His cruelties and his conqueſts were equally deteſtable and ſurpriſing, and, on that account, he may be termed rather a *great* than a *good* prince. He occaſionally diſplayed, with one hand, a diſpoſition for liberality, while, with the other, he decreed

the ſevereſt penalties againſt thoſe who ſhould become either Jews or Chriſtians. Egypt, however, experienced the effects of his munificence on his return from the eaſt. After viſiting with ſolemn veneration the tomb of Pompey which Adrian had built, he travelled forwards to Alexandria, and preſented the capital of Egypt with a public ſenate, of which it had been deprived ſince the time of Cleopatra. The principal cities of the country were honored by his preſence; and the monuments of antiquity, the pyramids, the labyrinth, and the ſtatue of Memnon, were inſpected by him with eager curioſity. Dio Caſſius relates, that he examined the myſterious and hieroglyphic books which were found in the temples with great attention, and afterwards conveyed the moſt remarkable to the tomb of Alexander the Great, where both the body of that prince and the books were ſhut up from public inſpection.—After his demiſe, which occurred in the year 211, his two ſons,

CARACALLA AND GETA,

Were appointed to ſucceed him. Inſpired with a mutual hatred to each other, the former, with the characteriſtic of a monſter, ſoon after put a period to Geta's life, in the arms of his mother.

CARACALLA,

Thus ſupreme head of the Roman empire, gradually unfolded a character of the moſt execrable and bloody nature. The tyranny of Tiberius, of Nero, of Domitian, and of Commodus, is generally conſidered as

being the climax of cruelty; but that of Caracalla so far exceeds our deſcription, that we can only view him as the common enemy of mankind. Afraid of reſiding in Rome, after the murder of his brother, he moved throughout the empire, from province to province, like the firebrand of deſtruction, making every place he viſited the ſcene of his rapine and cruelty. Paſſing from Syria into Egypt, he expreſſed a wiſh to viſit the city founded by Alexander; but, in reality, it was an intention of being revenged on the ſatyrical wits of Alexandria, for the truth and ſeverity of their ſarcaſms. The inhabitants of this city were principally the deſcendants of the Grecians, and poſſeſſed, in common with their ingenious countrymen, a remnant of their former taſte and learning. It would be advancing too much to aſſert, that the ſtrictures directed againſt the tyrant Caracalla were compoſed with any intention of reaching the imperial ear; but probably the production of ſome obſcure wit, who only breathed a ſentiment of common humanity. Theſe nice diſtinctions were, however, not calculated for the perception of this emperor. He took a ſecure ſtation in the temple of Serapis, and, under the pretence of celebrating ſome games in the capital of Egypt, iſſued his orders, when the people were in full aſſembly, to commence an indiſcriminate maſſacre. Every houſe was pillaged, and every man, woman and child, without diſtinction of age or condition, were put to the ſword. His

orders were executed with ſuch barbarous punctuality, that the whole city floated in blood, and even the ſea, for many miles, partook of the ſanguinary colour. To finiſh the horrid picture, the tyrant cooly vindicated his conduct by informing the ſenate, that thoſe who periſhed and thoſe who eſcaped were equally guilty. In order, therefore, to inflict a perpetual puniſhment upon thoſe who ſhould return, or thoſe who ſhould reſide there in future, he ſtripped the city of all its former privileges, ſuppreſſed the aſſembly of learned men who ſtill reſorted thither, and that they might not have an eaſy communication with each other, walls were erected at the junction of the ſtreets. —Such was the kind of vengeance that delighted the ſoul of Caracalla; nor did theſe cruelties ceaſe, till one of his own ſoldiers put a period to his career.

MACRINUS,

Who was privy to the aſſaſſination of the tyrant, procured means of obtaining the ſceptre; but his treaſon being a ſhort time afterwards diſcloſed,

HELIOGABALUS

Next unworthily filled the imperial throne. Lewdneſs, gluttony, and every ſpecies of extravagance, occupied the term of a few years reign; when his couſin-german,

ALEXANDER SEVERUS,

Was choſen as his ſucceſſor. During a period of thirteen years, the ſceptre was ſwayed with virtue, dignity, and wiſdom; and had not the mutinous

ſoldiery deprived him of life when only 29 years of age, he might have long been an ornament to the Roman empire.

MAXIMINUS,

The chief promoter of that ſedition, which deprived Severus of his life, aſſumed the imperial purple. Gigantic in ſtature and in ſtrength, and equally cruel as he was courageous, he reigned amidſt dangers and conſpiracies for three years, when he was in his turn aſſaſſinated, and his body thrown to the dogs and birds of prey.

MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS,

Two officers of diſtinguiſhed merit, ſucceeded to the throne. Supported by the ſenate, they adminiſtered with prudence and ability; but the Pretorian guards being inimical to ſuch an influence, they were ſupplanted by

GORDIAN,

A young man, only 16 years of age, and a favourite of the ſoldiery. Even he, however, was found too virtuous for the diſſolute manners of the Roman troops, and they deprived him of his crown and his life, after a reign of ſix years, in favour of

PHILLIP,

An Arabian general. Five years did this prince hold the imperial ſceptre, amidſt various rebellions and diſtractions throughout the empire; when he was ſucceeded by

DECIUS,

A man of great activity and political wiſdom. He

endeavoured, by an unwarrantable perſecution of the chriſtians, to reſtore the declining power and religion of the ſtate; but the increaſing influence of chriſtianity, and the irruptions of the diſtant provinces, baffled all his exertions; and

GALLUS,

A Roman, who betrayed the army into an ambuſcade, ſucceeded to the throne. His iniquitous elevation was, however, ſhort-lived; and had not

VALERIAN,

An able ſoldier, been raiſed to the imperial dignity, the palſied power of the Roman empire would have been annihilated by the irruptions of the Goths and Dacians on one ſide, and the Scythians and Perſians on the other. Seven years he ſwayed with ability the ſceptred eagle, when he was at length taken priſoner, and condemned to a miſerable captivity among the Perſians. In this dangerous criſis, the enemies of Rome, elated with their ſucceſs, poured their hoſtile legions into the very centre of the empire; while civil commotion and the contentions of ambitious demagogues brought the ſtate to the brink of ruin.

GALLIENUS,

The ſon of Valerian, aſſumed the crown; but other claimants, whom hiſtory denominated

THE THIRTY TYRANTS,

Urged their ſeparate pretenſions for the throne, and, in ſupport of theſe pretenſions, the Roman empire was deluged with blood.

EMILIANUS,

The prefect of Egypt, taking advantage of the resentment of the people againſt Gallienus, was among the moſt conſpicuous deſertions from the emperor's power. A civil war, which had been raging in Egypt for ſeveral years, placed a diſpoſable army under his command; but on publiſhing his revolt, the public diſſentions were appeaſed, and inſtead of reſiſting the authority of the prefect, the whole of the inſurgents joyfully joined his ſtandard. The public granaries being no longer appropriated to their former purpoſes, abundance was generally diffuſed throughout Egypt, while famine was experienced in Italy, and ſeveral provinces of the empire. Emilianus was on that account received with popular acclamations, and the public rejoiced in the acquiſition of a ſovereign who conſulted the intereſt of his ſubjects. To ſecure that popularity he had acquired, Emilianus viſited the moſt diſtant parts of the country, redreſſed their grievances, repealed odious laws, and repelled with conſiderable vigour ſeveral hordes of barbarians which had infeſted the frontiers. Such early indications of a virtuous reign ſecured the affections of the people, and enabled him to increaſe his army to a formidable extent. With that army, indeed, he became ſo vain, as to prepare an expedition with the view of conquering thoſe countries betwixt him and the Indies. Theſe ambitious projects were, however, ſpeedily diſſolved, and a more important

purpoſe (unfortunately for Emilianus and for Egypt) ſoon required its ſervices.

The defection of Emilianus but little diſturbed the repoſe of the indolent Gallienus, ſo long as corn continued to abound in Italy. But when famine and its concomitant evils began to prevail in the capital, and the uſual ſupplies of proviſions no longer made their appearance, he was then rouſed to a ſenſe of his danger, and ſaw the neceſſity of cruſhing the dangerous power of the Egyptian prefect. An army was collected, and embarked under the command of Theodotus, a native Egyptian, and the power of Emilianus was crippled upon the event of the firſt engagement. His laſt reſource depended upon the fate of Alexandria, and he threw himſelf, along with the reſt of his army, into that fortified city, in order to try his fortune by the reſult of a ſiege. Theodotus, however, by the aſſiſtance of a powerful fleet, ſtormed the citadel adjoining the ſea; and Pharos, the palace, the muſæum, the public granaries, and the public libraries, falling into his hands, Emilianus and his army were reduced by famine to ſurrender at diſcretion. Egypt thus became again under the dominion of its former maſters, and the rebellious prefect was conveyed to Rome, where he was privately ſtrangled.

Amid theſe diſtractions throughout the empire, Odenatus, king of Palmyra, having checked the irruptions of the Perſians, and reduced ſeveral revolted

provinces to their wonted ſubmiſſion, was appointed joint partner with Gallienus, and governor over all the eaſt. He continued in this capacity only four years, when the jealouſy of the Roman emperor cauſed him to be ſecretly put to death. Zenobia, his queen, however, with the courage of a hero, would not part with that ſovereignty which her huſband had ſo dearly purchaſed, and, during the minority of her three ſons, aſſumed the command of the army, which ſhe would not ſuffer to be alienated or impaired during the remainder of Gallienus's reign,—a reign which was terminated by aſſaſſination in the 268th year of the chriſtian æra.

CLAUDIUS.

A man who poſſeſſed the moderation of Auguſtus, the valour of Trajan, and the piety of Antoninus, was unanimouſly called to the imperial throne; but, unfortunately for mankind, was ſwept from the ſtage of exiſtence by the plague, after a ſhort reign of only two years. While he was employed in reſtoring the empire to its former glory, in reſtraining vice and immorality, and in checking the incurſions of the Goths, Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, was no leſs aſſiduous in the extenſion of that power which her huſband had laboured to eſtabliſh. Probus, the prefect of Egypt, was defeated by her arms; and, after beſieging him in Alexandria for a conſiderable time, ſhe took the citadel by ſtorm, and utterly deſtroyed that quarter of the city known by the name of Bruchium.

The valiant Roman, to avoid the indignity of being taken priſoner by a woman, voluntarily diſpatched himſelf with his ſword.

AURELIAN,

An able commander among the Romans, may properly be ſaid to have ſucceeded Claudius, though Quintilius was declared the ſucceſſior of that prince, and occupied that ſtation for ſeventeen days. Aurelian was ſcarcely ſeated on the imperial throne, when he was obliged to march to the northern frontiers, in order to check the irruptions of the Germans. That dangerous war being finiſhed, he directed his arms againſt Zenobia, whoſe power had now extended itſelf over all the eaſtern provinces. Her maſculine diſcipline, and ſevere but neceſſary laws, had not yet broken the indolent habits of her ſubjects; and, except the few veterans who followed her ſtandard ſince the death of Odenatus, the army was compoſed of a mixed multitude of all nations. Theſe indifferent troops, who guarded the diſtant provinces, were eaſily ſubdued by the army of Aurelian, and a deſperate general battle, fought near Antioch, decided the fate of the Palmyrean queen. Egypt, which had continued for ſeveral years under the ſubjection of Zenobia, and which tended to ſupply her armies with proviſions as well as harraſs the citizens of Rome, was now again the ſcene of hoſtilities. A diviſion of Aurelian's army was diſpatched to reduce that important province, while the principal part of the Roman for-

ces was employed in reducing Zenobia. Egypt was, however, ſpeedily reconquered by Probus, a nameſake of the former prefect; and Aurelian, after beſieging his female antagoniſt nearly twelve months in Palmyra, finally triumphed. The ſubjects of Zenobia, however, were but ill affected towards the Roman yoke; and it was not till a dreadful example was made of Aurelian's power, in which he maſſacred the principal of the Palmyreans, and carried their queen a captive to Rome,* that he reſtrained the eaſtern provinces from revolt and diſaffection.

* Modern Europe has produced ſeveral illuſtrious women who have ſuſtained with glory the weight of empire; nor is our own age deſtitute of ſuch diſtinguiſhed characters. But Zenobia is, perhaps, the only female whoſe ſuperior genius broke through the ſervile indolence impoſed on her ſex by the climate and manners of Aſia. She claimed her deſcent from the Macedonian kings of Egypt, equalled in beauty her anceſtor Cleopatra, and far ſurpaſſed that princeſs in chaſtity and valour. Zenobia was eſteemed the moſt lovely and moſt heroic of her ſex. She was of a dark complexion (for in ſpeaking of a lady theſe trifles become important). Her teeth were of a pearly whiteneſs, and her large black eyes ſparkled with uncommon fire, tempered by the moſt attractive ſweetneſs. Her voice was ſtrong and harmonious: Her manly underſtanding was ſtrengthened and adorned by ſtudy. She was not ignorant of the Latin tongue, but poſſeſſed, in equal perfection, the Greek, the Syriac, and the Egyptian languages. She had drawn up, for her own uſe, an Epitome of Oriental Hiſtory, and familiarly compared the beauties of Homer and Plato under the tuition of the ſublime Longinus. GIBBON.

During these distractions in the east, Egypt again became the theatre of war, and Aurelian had a new and dangerous rival to contend with. Firmus, a wealthy merchant of Egypt, and one who styled himself the friend and ally of Zenobia, perceiving the weakness of the Romans in his native country, formed an alliance with the Saracens and Arabs inhabiting the neighbourhood of the Red Sea, and poured an armed force from Upper Egypt, by which he occupied the whole country. Enflamed with the love or the hope of freedom, the Egyptians flocked to the standard of their countryman, and Alexandria, Pelusium, and indeed every fortified place in Egypt, were speedily deprived of their Roman garrisons. Firmus, elated with his rapid success, vainly assumed the title of Augustus, clothed himself in the imperial purple, coined money, published edicts, and boasted that he could maintain his army from the profits of paper and glue. His fleets, the most formidable defence of the kingdom, were employed in harrassing the ships of Italy, and in cutting off their supplies of corn. But these hostile dispositions were of no long duration. The approach of Aurelian and his army from the east, produced disaffection and desertion in the ranks of the Egyptian army; and the few patriotic veterans who followed the standard of Firmus, opposed but a feeble resistance to the Roman phalanx. The Egyptians were routed and dispirited; and, after

a short siege, Firmus was taken prisoner, and put to a cruel death.*

From the period of Aurelian's victory over Firmus, which happened in the year 274, till the reign of Diocletian, no circumstance of historical importance can claim our attention. The virtues and abilities, indeed, of

TACITUS, PROBUS, CARUS, AND NUMERIAN,

During this interval of 14 years, must excite our approbation; but the distant provinces were in general quiet, therefore divested of sufficient interest for the purposes of the historian.—During the reign of

DIOCLESIAN AND MAXIMIAN,

In the year 292, the empire was threatened with dissolution, and civil and domestic commotion displayed itself in every province, from Britain to Mount Caucasus. L. Epidius Achilleus, the prefect over Egypt, assumed the imperial purple, and was proclaimed emperor in the city of Alexandria. The universal disorder which prevailed throughout the empire, prevented a sufficient army being spared to reduce Achilleus; he enjoyed, therefore, an uninterrupted reign of six years, in peace, in independence, and in preparation to defend that title he had assumed. The warlike Diocletian, however, at length displayed the Ro-

* Vopiscus relates, that Firmus was remarkable for his luxury, and as an instance, it is observed, that he had windows made of glass. He was likewise singular for his strength and appetite, his courage and dexterity.

A.

man eagle upon the banks of the Nile. A ſix years war had inured the ſoldiers to the fatigues of every climate; and a ſingle deſperate battle with the Egyptian army, reduced Achilleus to the neceſſity of retreating to Alexandria. Diocleſian followed up his victory by beſieging that immenſe city, and determined to reduce it by famine and by the ſword. Alexandria, ſtrong by its natural ſituation, was likewiſe fortified by Achilleus, and the Egyptians, who were the inveterate enemies of the Romans, were reſolved to make a deſperate reſiſtance. Under theſe circumſtances, the Roman emperor commenced the ſiege by cutting off the aqueducts which ſupplied the city with water, and by entrenching himſelf from the attacks of the beſieged. Eight months of uninterrupted hoſtility had elapſed, during which period Diocleſian puſhed his reiterated attacks with caution, and with vigour, before the beſieged ſeemed to relax in their defence, or ſue for terms. But the Roman army having been reinforced, and the citizens being waſted by famine and diſeaſe, they at length implored the clemency of the conqueror. Unconditional ſubmiſſion, however, appears to have been implicitly required, for the ſeverity of Diocleſian, on getting poſſeſſion of the city, was barbarous in the extreme. Many thouſands periſhed in a promiſcuous ſlaughter, before his vengeance was appeaſed; and the principal people of Egypt were doomed to die as traitors, or become exiles from their country.---The fate of

Buſiris and of Coptos was ſtill more melancholy than that of Alexandria; thoſe proud cities, the former diſtinguiſhed by its antiquity, the latter enriched by the paſſage of the Indian trade, were utterly deſtroyed by the arms and by the ſevere orders of Diocleſian. Thebes, the ancient capital of Upper Egypt, felt likewiſe the ſeverity of his vengeance; and every part of the kingdom experienced a chaſtiſement proportionate to the diſpoſition they diſplayed of revolting from the authority of Rome.

To prevent the recurrence of another rebellion, he followed up this exceſſive rigour to the Egyptians by ſeveral ſingular regulations. The Blemyes, or more probably Arabs, living betwixt the Nile and the Red Sea, having ever ſince the rebellion of Firmus been the friends and allies of the Egyptians, he made a treaty of alliance with the Nubians, in order to oppoſe a ſuitable adverſary to that unſettled people. Theſe Nubians being formerly the inhabitants of Lybia, he induced them, by an adequate reward, to remove from their habitations, to a large and extenſive territory above Syene and the cataracts, and in their new ſettlement to defend the Egyptian frontier from any ſudden invaſion. And in order that the treaty might be duly attended to, a fortification called Philæ, or *friendſhip*, was built in the iſle of Elephantine, and a Roman garriſon was ſtationed therein to watch their motions. The treaty was annually ratified by Roman and Nubian prieſts, accompanied with the moſt ſolemn

ſacrifices; and it continued to be ſtrictly obſerved till long after, when the chriſtian religion ſuperceded their barbarous forms of worſhip.

While Diocleſian thus puniſhed the paſt miſconduct of the Egyptians, and adopted what he conceived to be neceſſary precautions againſt future diſaffection, he alſo enforced ſeveral political regulations in the government of the country, ſuch as might tend to humble their turbulent diſpoſitions, and check every ſymptom of diſorder on its firſt appearance. One remarkable edict was likewiſe ſtrictly enforced, which ſeems to be more the production of a jealous tyrant, than a ſalutary act of prudence. A diligent enquiry was made after "all the ancient books which treated of "the admirable art of making gold and ſilver, and "without pity he committed them to the flames; ap-"prehenſive, as we are aſſured, leſt the opulence of "the Egyptians ſhould inſpire them with confidence "to rebel againſt the empire." It may be ſaid, indeed, as Gibbon obſerves, that "if Diocleſian had "been convinced of that valuable art, ſo far from ex-"tinguiſhing the memory, he would have converted "the operation of it to the benefit of the public reve-"nue." But it is probable that the wiſhes of the emperor extended not only to the abolition of the ridiculous ſtudy of alchymy in Egypt,* but the total

* In that immenſe regiſter where Pliny has depoſited the diſcoveries, the arts, and the errors of mankind, there is not the leaſt

ſuppreſſion of books in which either the knowledge of literature or ſcience could be found. The means which he employed to annihilate every hope of independence, were commenſurate to the end; for, during the remainder of Diocleſian's reign, and the civil wars which prevailed throughout the empire during the ſucceeding 30 years, and which brought it to the verge of ruin, Egypt was either unable or unwilling to riſk her peace or fortune to regain her former dignity.

Upon the remarkable event of Diocleſian and his colleague's reſignation from the fatigues of government,

CONSTANTIUS AND GALERIUS

Were raiſed to the imperial throne. Owing to a diſagreement in their tempers, a diviſion of the empire took place; and, for the ſpace of ſeven ſucceeding years, their plans of government met with little in-

mention of the tranſmutation of metals; and the perſecution of Diocleſian is the firſt authentic event in the hiſtory of alchymy. The conqueſt of Egypt by the Arabs, diffuſed that vain ſcience over the globe. Congenial to the avarice of the human heart, it was ſtudied in China, as in Europe, with equal eagerneſs and with equal ſucceſs. The darkneſs of the middle ages cliffured a favourable reception to every tale of wonder, and the revival of learning gave new vigour to hope, and ſuggeſted more ſpecious arts of deception. Philoſophy, with the aid of experience, has at length baniſhed the ſtudy of alchymy; and the preſent age, however deſirous of riches, is content to ſeek them by the humbler means of commerce and induſtry. GIBBON.

terruption. The death of the former, however, which occurred in Britain, in the city of York, paved the way for a ſeries of civil wars; and the competitors of the young Conſtantine, afterwards ſurnamed

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT,

Held their precarious fortune, upon the caprice of a diſſolute ſoldiery, and the calamities of mankind. No leſs than ſix contending rivals urged their ſeparate claims to the imperial purple; but being either leſs fortunate, or poſſeſſed of leſs abilities, than the ſucceſſor of Conſtantius, they ſucceſſively periſhed; and, in the 324th year of the chriſtian æra, "the Roman world was again united under the authority of one emperor."

THE CONSTANTINE ÆRA.

The period of hiſtory which we are now entering upon, opens to our view ſuch a ſeries of events, tending to change the morals of mankind and the political hiſtory of the world, that it will be neceſſary to trace the progreſs of thoſe events, in order to give a diſtinct view of the ſtate of affairs in Egypt.

The teachers of Chriſtianity, during the firſt century, were diſtinguiſhed by the calm and deliberate manner with which the benign truths of the goſpel were inculcated, and the ſucceſs with which their pure ſyſtem of morality was attended. The conduct of theſe teachers being likewiſe ſo unimpeachable, accelerated the downfall of ſuperſtition, and tended

effectually to diffuſe the principles of the humble JESUS. But when the numerous followers of Polytheiſm became converts to Chriſtianity, and when the priſtine apoſtles had been almoſt forgotten, a cloud of ſtrange and ridiculous opinions diſtracted the peace and happineſs of the church; and inſtead of the ſimple truths which formerly prevailed, the dogmas of the Grecian, the Roman, and the Egyptian prieſts, became, under a new ſhape, the faſhionable purſuits of the chriſtians. The Gnoſtics (an appellation expreſſive of ſuperiority of knowledge) were the principal founders of theſe various and obſcure tenets; and as "the paths of error are various and infinite," they became at length divided into more than fifty particular ſects. "Each of theſe ſects could boaſt of its biſhops and congregations, of its doctors and martyrs; and inſtead of the four goſpels adopted by the church, they produced a multitude of hiſtories, in which the actions and diſcourſes of Chriſt and his apoſtles were adapted to their reſpective tenets. Their ſucceſs was rapid and extenſive. They covered Aſia and Egypt, eſtabliſhed themſelves in Rome, and ſometimes penetrated into the provinces of the weſt. For the moſt part, they aroſe in the ſecond century, flouriſhed during the third, and were ſuppreſſed in the fourth or fifth, by the prevalence of more faſhionable controverſies, and by the ſuperior aſcendant of the reigning power."

While we muſt lament the weakneſs and the im-

perfection of man, thus to abandon the ſource of truth and ſimplicity for the more ambiguous and uninteresting queſtions of a religious and abſtract nature, we may perceive the commencement of a hierarchical ſyſtem, which in due time eſtabliſhed itſelf upon the ruins of the Roman capitol, and the fruits of which continue to abound even in our own times. The proximity of Egypt to the land of Paleſtine, gave an eaſy introduction to the Chriſtian religion; but the prejudices and idle ceremonies which they had imbibed by education, were productive of thoſe multifarious opinions which proved ſo detrimental to the ſpirit of Chriſtianity. The refractory Jews, and the diſciples of the ancient Grecian philoſophers, adopted likewiſe new and ſpeculative theories upon the chriſtian religion; and every ſucceſſive reign was diſtinguiſhed by ſome remarkable hereſy, (the uſual term of reproach which the moſt popular party beſtowed upon the reſt,) Each ſectary of the new religion, though differing eſſentially from the others, were nevertheleſs indefatiguable in propagating their opinions, and each gave frequent evidence of their firmneſs and ſincerity, by undergoing martyrdom in their ſupport. Under ſuch circumſtances of diſagreement and contention, a perſon of the preſent day might be apt to allege, that the progreſs of Chriſtianity would have been impeded, and the religion itſelf rendered contemptible. But in whatever reſpect their ſpeculative doctrines

might be ridiculous and improper, their agreement in oppoſition to idolatry and polytheiſm being uniform, and their unremitting aſſiduity in gaining proſelytes in order to ſupport their cauſe, tended effectually to extend the general outlines of Chriſtianity.

Thus the extraordinary zeal of the early chriſtians ſpeedily diffuſed their principles throughout the moſt diſtant provinces; and in Britain, Helena, the mother of Conſtantine, imbibed a religion which ſhe ſeduloufly inſtilled into her ſon. The moderation of Conſtantius, with the piety of his wife, early afforded Conſtantine an opportunity of practiſing virtues which were creditable in a prince, and were calculated to render him popular in the army. Time ſhewed how wiſely he began his career; for the virtues he poſſeſſed, or pretended to poſſeſs, not only gained him the eſteem of thoſe provinces over which he reigned, but increaſed the zeal and number of his followers; ſo that when contraſted with the vices of his antagoniſts, his virtues accelerated their ruin. That which likewiſe increaſed the fame of Conſtantine, was his adherence to thoſe principles which had gained him the *purple*. He began his reign by eſtabliſhing univerſal toleration in religious worſhip: and happy had it been, perhaps, for that religion, which the emperor ſo juſtly venerated, had he interfered no further. But his attachment to Chriſtianity impelled him to purſue a path calculated to inſpire all men with reſpect towards his faith. The temples of the idols

were ordered to be ſhut up; their lands were confiſcated for the uſe of the church; and an aſſembly of the biſhops was ſummoned to Nice, to ſettle the faith of mankind by the vote of a majority. Athanaſius, the biſhop of Alexandria, and his coadjutors, carried the palm of victory, and the myſterious conſubſtantiality of the Godhead was declared as the fundamental article of the chriſtian faith. Thus a controverſy was decided in the 325th year after Chriſt, which had divided the churches of Europe and Aſia for a century before. Arius, and his heretical followers, were ſeparated from the communion of the catholic church, and the orthodoxy of the Nicene creed was ratified by public authority.

It might, perhaps, be eſteemed an impious taſk, were we to trace the hiſtory of the eaſy faith of mankind in all ages, in implicitly believing whatever is eſteemed their intereſt: but it is ſuch an evident truth, that we need not wonder at the converſion of the Roman world from Paganiſm to Chriſtianity, and from the hereſies of ſchiſm to the doctrines of Athanaſius. "The exact balance of the two religions," ſays Gibbon, "continued but a moment; and the piercing eye of ambition and avarice ſoon diſcovered that the profeſſion of Chriſtianity might contribute to the intereſt of the preſent as well as of a future life. The hopes of wealth and honours, the example of an emperor, his exhortations, his irreſiſtible ſmiles, diffuſed conviction among the venal and obſequious

crowds which uſually fill the apartments of a palace. The cities which ſignalized a forward zeal, by the voluntary deſtruction of their temples, were diſtinguiſhed by municipal privileges, and rewarded with popular donatives; and the new capital in the eaſt gloried in the ſingular advantage, that Conſtantinople was never profaned by the worſhip of idols. And as the lower ranks of ſociety are governed by imitation, the converſion of thoſe who poſſeſſed any eminence of birth, of power, or of riches, was ſoon followed by dependent multitudes." Such likewiſe was the ſpeedy tranſition from one opinion to another, that when Arius was baniſhed into one of the remote provinces of Illiricum, his name and doctrine branded with the epithet of *hereſy*; his writings condemned to the flames, and a puniſhment threatened to thoſe who ſhould be found in poſſeſſion of his books, the maſs of mankind, not excepting ſeveral of his moſt devoted biſhops, were perceived rapidly to veer into the current of the popular faction. A lapſe of three years, however, had ſcarcely occurred, when the proſcribed party was recalled, Arius was reſtored to favour and applauſe, and Euſebius, his able compeer, was reinſtated in his epiſcopal throne. The new revolution in the emperor's faith was followed by the approbation of the multitude; and Athanaſius of Alexandria, Euſtathius of Antioch, and Paul of Conſtantinople, were forcibly depoſed from their reſpective offices by the ſentence of obſequious councils, and baniſhed into

diſtant provinces. The recal of Arius, however, was for him unfortunate, for the day which was appointed for his triumph terminated his life.*

"Such was the riſe and progreſs, and ſuch were the natural revolutions of thoſe theological diſputes which diſturbed the peace of Chriſtianity during the reign of Conſtantine and of his ſons. But as thoſe princes preſumed to extend their deſpotiſm over the faith, as well as over the lives and fortunes of their ſubjects, the weight of their ſuffrage ſometimes inclined the eccleſiaſtical balance, and the prerogatives of the King of Heaven were ſettled, or changed, or modified, in the cabinet of an earthly monarch."

Amid theſe fluctuations of religious opinions and religious zeal, Egypt was a principal province concerned. The original ſource of religious ſpeculation, the various myſteries of the various creeds, were there methodically propoſed, and diſcuſſed after the manner of logical and metaphyſical rules. The queſtion of the Trinity, and its concomitant doctrines, acquired from the ſchool of Alexan-

* On the ſame day which had been fixed for the triumph of Arius, he expired; and the ſtrange and horrid circumſtances of his death might excite a ſuſpicion that the orthodox ſaints had contributed more efficacioufly than by their prayers to deliver the church from the moſt formidable of her enemies. It is likewiſe added in a note, that 'thoſe who preſs the literal narrative of his death (his bowels ſuddenly burſt out in a privy), muſt make their option between POISON and MIRACLE.' GIBBON.

dria a regularity in its ſtructure, which has preſerved its power over the human mind till the preſent time. Even the famous creed of Athanaſius, though dated from Nice, is generally acknowledged to be of Egyptian origin; and the multiplicity of biſhops, deacons, and the different orders of prieſts in the chriſtian hierarchy, were no doubt borrowed from former eſtabliſhments in Egypt, where every duty had its appropriate teacher, and every ceremony its reſpective repreſentative.

But the number of prieſts and opinions which prevailed throughout the empire, and particularly in Egypt, would have little diſturbed the repoſe of mankind and the church, had not the ſecular power interfered with theſe controverſies, and the arms of Conſtantine eſtabliſhed orthodoxy by law. That was the ſource of all thoſe evils which gave Chriſtianity a deadly blow, and ſuffered perſecution to aſſume the plauſible garb of the propagator of truth, and to be the vicegerent of heaven. Biſhops and Preſbyters, Arians and Athanaſians, were placed and diſplaced by troops of ſoldiers; and the teachers of Chriſtianity, inſtead of diſcharging the functions of apoſtles, were in time converted to the purpoſes of ſtate, and became intriguing politicians and ſuppliant courtiers. Even during the time of Conſtantine, the prefect of Egypt hurled Athanaſius from his epiſcopal ſee, and at four ſubſequent periods was the primate expelled upon various pretences from his Alexandrian throne.

Such theological factions continued throughout Egypt, Africa, and Aſia, with little interruption, during the three ſucceeding centuries; and when the politic Mahomet reared his religious ſtandard, the human mind, wearied with contention, obeyed that authority which acknowledged only one God. The fathers themſelves often ſighed in private at the unhappy diſputes which diſturbed the church; and though their avarice and ambition prevented them melting their reſpective differences, their evidence is an unhappy proof of their reality. "It is equally deplorable and dangerous," ſays Hilary, "that there are as many creeds as opinions among men, as many doctrines as inclinations, and as many ſources of blaſphemy as there are faults among us; becauſe we make creeds arbitrarily, and explain them as arbitrarily. The *homouſion* (conſubſtantiality of the Godhead) is rejected, and received, and explained away by ſucceſſive ſynods. The partial or total reſemblance of the Father and of the Son, is a ſubject of diſpute for theſe unhappy times. Every year, nay every moon, we make new creeds to deſcribe inviſible myſteries. We repent of what we have done, we defend thoſe who repent, we anathematiſe thoſe whom we have defended. We condemn either the doctrine of others in ourſelves, or our own in that of others; and reciprocally tearing one another to pieces, we have been the cauſe of each others ruin."

In this digreſſion reſpecting the hiſtory and progreſs of the chriſtian religion, our readers will nevertheleſs,

perceive a manifeſt relation with the ſubject of our hiſtory. Chriſtianity, under Conſtantine, became the principal religion throughout the empire, and inſtead of a twentieth of the people who were chriſtians in Egypt before his reign, that proportion was confined to the pagans before its concluſion, and the religion of the emperor was almoſt implicitly followed by the people. The banks of the Nile became as prolific of chriſtian teachers, as it was formerly of idolatrous prieſts. Alexandria ſent forth its *philoſophic preachers*,*

* The firſt, and the moſt fatal of all events to the primitive religion, was the ſetting up of a chriſtian academy at Alexandria in Egypt. Chriſtians had been reproached with illiteracy, and this ſeemed a plauſible method to get rid of the ſcandal. This ſchool was firſt kept by Pantænus, whom Clement firſt aſſiſted and then ſucceeded, as Origen did him. Each improved on his predeceſſor, and all together invented queſtions about the chriſtian religion ſufficient to perplex and puzzle the whole world. From a wild enthuſiaſtical philoſopher of Alexandria, named Ammonius Saccas, theſe men imbibed a chaos of groſs errors called philoſophy, becauſe it was the production of idle men, who concealed their love of eaſe under the ſpecious name of love of wiſdom. Vain queſtions about matter and ſpirit; the whole and the parts, human ſouls, demons, and the firſt great cauſe; time, place, circumſtances of events; were all applied by theſe men to the chriſtian religion, and the inſpired writers were put on the rack, and tortured to give anſwers and determine points, of which probably they had never heard the names, and never entertained a thought. Here youth were bewildered under pretence of being taught: here the moſt dangerous of all rules of interpreting ſcripture was laid down, and the tutors firſt amazed themſelves with it, and then diſtracted the

and the maſſy temples of former times were made to reſound with the declamations of chriſtian divines.

With reſpect to the political ſtate of Egypt during Conſtantine, it experienced no particular alteration, if we except the moderation of his reign. The change of the capital from Rome to Byzantium (in modern times called Conſtantinople), introduced likewiſe a new form of civil and military adminiſtration. The changes of the new government were alſo extended to Egypt; and inſtead of a military governor to receive the orders of the Auguſtal prefect, the empire was divided into ſections, and again ſubdivided into dioceſes, of which Egypt formed a diviſion. Its importance was by this means leſſened, and nothing of its former greatneſs appeared but the name. The diſcretion, however, which Conſtantine diſplayed in the appointment of governors and deputies throughout the realm, was productive of peace and tranquillity; and the provinces were happy enough to experience neither foreign nor domeſtic commotion during

minds of their pupils. This was, 'that ſcripture had a double ſenſe, the one obvious and literal, the other hidden and myſterious, which lay concealed, as it were, under the veil of the outward letter. The former they treated with the utmoſt neglect, and turned the whole force of their genius and application to unfold the latter; or, in other words, they were more ſtudious to darken the holy ſcriptures with their idle fictions, than to inveſtigate their true and natural ſenſe.' Theſe are the words of that excellent hiſtorian, Dr Moſheim. ROBINSON's Eccleſiaſtical Reſearches.

a long reign of 32 years.—The death of Conſtantine occurred in the 337th year after Chriſt, amidſt the regret of ſurrounding nations; and the empire was afterwards divided among his three ſons,

CONSTANTINE, CONSTANTIUS, & CONSTANS.

The former reigned over Aſia and Egypt for the ſpace of three years, till his ambition prompted him to invade the territories of his brother Conſtans, in which he fell a victim to an ambuſcade, wherein his army and himſelf were cut to pieces. The latter continued his reign for ten years more, when he fell under the hand of Magnentius; but Conſtantius, after weilding the ſceptre alone, amid conſpiracies and diſſentions, the irruptions of the Goths, the Germans and the Perſians, for the ſpace of eleven years, died of a fever at the foot of mount Taurus, in the 361ſt year of the chriſtian æra.

JULIAN,

An inveterate enemy to Chriſtianity, ſucceeded to the imperial throne. It may be ſaid, without prejudice to the memory of the primitive fathers, that though the emperor diſplayed an antipathy to Chriſtianity, he nevertheleſs, with more liberality than his predeceſſors, ſtrictly enjoined that all men ſhould be allowed to follow what religion they thought proper. The maſſacre at Antioch would ſeem calculated to tarniſh that part of his character; but the moſt liberal hiſtorians have attributed thoſe horrid ſcenes as much to the fanaticiſm of the Chriſtians as the zeal of the

Pagans. The religious factions and deteſtable proceedings of the orthodox Chriſtians in Egypt, ſufficiently account for the perſecutions which prevailed in that country, and particularly in Alexandria. Biſhoprics and archbiſhoprics were procured, as at preſent, by intereſt at court, and the wealthy See of Alexandria was aſpired after with as much devotion as the pontifical throne. George, of Cappadocia, (a man of obſcure and ſervile origin) had gained, by the intereſt of Arianiſm, that diſtinguiſhed office; and, with the zeal of Athanaſius without his abilities, polluted his reign by the moſt diſgraceful rapacity and perſecution. Empowered by his epiſcopal ſtation to collect the revenues of the church, he added that of an informer for government, and a monopoliſt of the trade and commerce of Egypt. The haughty primate not only diſplayed the pomp of a monarch, but, with a baſeneſs peculiar to the worſt of mankind, levied the moſt unjuſt exactions, and revived the obſolete claim of taxing the ſoil and houſes of the Alexandrians. He impoveriſhed the merchants by engroſſing the trade of nitre, ſalt, paper, &c. into his hands, and robbed the temples of the Pagans under the pretence of ſerving the Lord. With ſuch diſpoſitions and ſuch power, it was not to be expected that the people would tamely ſubmit to his unjuſt authority: but the power of Conſtantius had hitherto been his ſole dependence. No ſooner, therefore, was the new emperor arrived in the eaſt, than the rage of the

people would admit of no delay. He was dragged to priſon in chains, along with his obſequious miniſters, amid the public execrations; and, as if juſtice was too ſlow in its operations, he was ſcarcely in confinement twenty-four days before the multitude forced their way into his dungeon, and ſacrificed him to their fury. Many innocent victims were included in the maſſacre, and their lifeleſs bodies were inſultingly carried in triumph upon camels through the city, and afterwards thrown into the ſea.

Such was the commencement of Julian's reign in Egypt towards the Arian Chriſtians. Athanaſius was ſoon after without difficulty raiſed to the archepiſcopal throne of the deceaſed George, by the friends of his powerful party; and as if the crimes of the late primate had been merely venial, he was ranked among the number of Chriſtian martyrs. The hypocriſy of Athanaſius is in this inſtance exemplary; as his former perſecution of the Arian heretics leaves us no room to doubt that the death of George was a deſirable event, and that the crown of martyrdom was a convenient ſhield, either to protect the chriſtians of his own party from being ſuppoſed acceſſory to his death, or as a neceſſary memorandum diſplayed *in terrorem*, to prevent the ſuperſtitious Pagans from a repetition of ſimilar outrages. The advancement of Athanaſius, however, was but of ſhort duration. Julian was chagrined that "a criminal, who had been repeatedly condemned by the judgment of the em-

perors, ſhould dare to inſult the majeſty of the laws, and inſolently uſurp the archiepiſcopal throne of Alexandria, without reſpecting his orders." He therefore ordered him to be hurled from his ſtation and expelled from Egypt. Petitions and preſſing ſolicitations, however, aſſailed the imperial ear from every quarter of the province, and he was provoked to find that the great majority of the Egyptians were Chriſtians who took a lively intereſt in the fate of Athanaſius. The expulſion of the primate was poſtponed till the abſolute determination of the emperor could be received; but inſtead of liſtening to the voice of the people, he was rendered ſtill more inexorable by their zeal, and the prefect of Egypt was peremptorily ordered, under pain of the emperor's diſpleaſure, to expel Athanaſius (whom he termed an *abominable wretch*) without a moment's delay.

The imprudent zeal of the Chriſtians in Egypt is aſcribed by Gibbon as the cauſe of Julian's particular animoſity to their preachers; but a detection of the criminal hypocriſy of ſeveral of their more ambitious biſhops, is, with more plauſibility, alledged as the principal reaſon. It is to be regretted, however, that an emperor who was the glory of the empire, ſhould have been provoked to ſuch ſevereties againſt a cauſe ſo virtuous, for the ſake of ſome abandoned prieſts. The man who could ſay, "that we ought to inſtruct and not to puniſh the ignorant; to pity, but not to hate them: and that the duty of an emperor was to

imitate God, in which imitation he was to have as few wants, and do as much good as possible," must have been an amiable character, and not the enemy of virtuous principles, but of vicious men. His reign was of short duration, and he died by a wound received in the Persian war, which put a period to his life on the 26th of June, 363, after occupying the throne only 20 months.

JOVIAN

Was, on account of his military talents, unanimously elected to the throne; and being a Christian in his heart, he restored to that people their former privileges immediately on his accession. Athanasius was recalled from banishment without delay, and reinstated in his former glory; and Alexandria and all Egypt rejoiced in the restoration of their bishops and other advantageous immunities. Scenes of cruelty and revenge were again renewed, and the Christians retaliated upon the Pagans, and upon each other, for the humiliation they had experienced during the reign of Julian. The authority of Athanasius, however, restored composure to the church, and the empire in general enjoyed tranquillity during the short period which he reigned. His death occurred in the year 364, when

VALENTINIAN,

After an interregnum of ten days, ascended the imperial throne. His brother VALENS was chosen by him as his colleague to reside at Constantinople,

while he himſelf removed to Milan, to watch over the intereſts of the weſtern empire. Procopius, a kinſman of the emperor Julian, diſturbed for a time the domeſtic tranquillity of the ſtate; but his ſhort-lived rebellion was cruſhed by the energy of the aged prefect, Salluſt. More temperate than Julian, and more diſpaſſionate than Jovian, Valentinian enjoyned the moſt impartial toleration; but Valens, who was educated in the principles of the Arians, looked with a jealous eye upon the power of Athanaſius and the influence of the catholics. Egypt was again heated by religious factions, and the declining years of the popular primate were diſturbed by the diſcords of contending biſhops.

The 373d year was ſignalized by the death of Athanaſius, and the worthleſs Lucius was forcibly eſtabliſhed upon his throne. The zeal of the Egyptians was the ſole protection which remained to the catholic party; and their late appeal to arms, in order to ſhield the aged Athanaſius from a fifth depoſition, evinced the extent of their attachment to the religious cauſe which they had eſpouſed. The remainder of the reign of Valens, indeed, was occupied by religious diſſentions, and war upon the frontiers; and till the 378th year, the æra of a fatal defeat and of the emperor's death, weak and imprudent councils diffuſed their evil influence over the civil and religious adminiſtration of the ſtate.

About this period an uncommon and terrible earthquake was experienced throughout the great extent of Europe, and part of Africa and Asia. It is related by Ammianus, that the shores of the Mediterranean were suddenly left dry, large vessels were wrecked upon the strand, and vallies and mountains appeared for a short time in the place of the wide extent of the ocean. The tide, however, soon returned, and so irresistible was its fury, that the lands of Sicily, of Dalmatia, of Greece, and of Egypt, were overflowed for a considerable extent; the ships were transported into the interior of towns, and the city of Alexandria had to deplore the loss of 50,000 of its citizens. To increase this great calamity, the catholics attributed the general devastation as a providential punishment of the Arians, and the rod of persecution was weilded by the superstitious mob against the innocent and unsuspicious heretics.

GRATIAN.

Before the death of Valens had occurred, his elder brother, Valentinian, had expired; and Gratian, the adopted successor of the emperor of the west, assumed the imperial purple. Left, on the calamitous death of Valens, at the age of 19, in the undisputed possession of the throne, he might have retained that lofty station without opposition and almost without a rival. But his anxiety to remove the stain which Roman valour had sustained, in the defeat and destruction of Valens' army, impelled him to bestow the dignity of

Augustus, or Emperor of the East, on the youthful, and martial

THEODOSIUS.

The empire was speedily retrieved, by his abilities, from the imminent danger to which it was reduced; but forgetting the moderation of his great prototype, Constantine, he entered into the most unprincipled views of his holy counsellors. After being baptized according to the mysterious faith of the Trinity, he issued mandates in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, that those who should profess Arianism, or follow the religion of their fathers, would not only be branded with the "infamous epithet of *heretics*," but might expect to suffer the severest penalties which his authority, guided by heavenly wisdom, could inflict. He began his reign by banishing the Arian archbishop of Constantinople, and placing the Catholic bishop, Gregory, on his throne, by means of his imperial guards; and, in the course of fifteen years afterwards, he promulgated no less than fifteen severe edicts against those *accursed* sects who refused to acknowledge the *true* faith. The easy transition from hatred to persecution soon followed; and after the Arian priests had been forcibly expelled from their churches, the rage of the Catholics was directed against the Pagans.

In Italy, in Greece, and in the distant provinces, they silently obeyed the high commands of Theodosius: but in Egypt, both the Pagans and the Chris-

tian malcontents loudly murmured at ſuch ſevere injunctions, which their conſciences would not permit them to obey. The boiſterous Theophilus, archbiſhop of Alexandria, a man of wicked principles, and whoſe hands were alternately polluted with gold and with blood, endeavoured, however, with a high hand, to ſilence their ſeditious clamours. With a total want of liberality, he ſearched and obtained a variety of the emblems of the Pagan worſhip, and, in the midſt of a great concourſe of the Alexandrians, alternately declaimed and ridiculed the religion of their fathers. The rage and deteſtation of the Pagans could only be equalled by the bigotted fury of the Chriſtians, and from reciprocal recrimination they proceeded to blows and bloodſhed. A ſeries of weeks were employed in the work of open warfare and ſilent aſſaſſination, till the ſuperiority of the civil power defeated the oppoſition of the unhappy adherents to the worſhip of Serapis. Their temples, which were hitherto their only aſylum in the hour of danger, were regularly beſieged, and a few days was only neceſſary to effect their deſtruction. The *pious* Theophilus carefully melted the rich ſpoils of his conqueſt; and the images of a leſs valuable workmanſhip were thrown contemptuouſly into the ſtreets. To the regret of mankind, the valuable library attached to the temple of Serapis was either pillaged or deſtroyed; and the lofty building itſelf, inferior in point of beauty and magnificence only to the capitol,

was razed to its foundation. The colossal statue of Serapis was involved in the general destruction; his limbs were dragged in triumph through the city, and the carcase burnt in the amphitheatre, amid the shouts of the populace. Such was the final triumph of the Christians in the Egyptian capital; nor did they cease their *sacred* havoc, till every temple in Egypt was destroyed, and every vase and idol which was composed of gold or silver was melted and appropriated to the use of the church.

The consequences of extirpating Paganism were long after perceived; and though the impression on the public mind, that the deity who presided over the Nile would have withheld the inundation, was removed, yet the seeds of animosity and disaffection continued. It was even esteemed necessary by the ministers of Theodosius, that every appearance of Paganism, or opposition to Christianity, should be crushed; and it was accordingly enacted, by a solemn decree, that religious sacrifices of any denomination should be esteemed a crime of high treason against the state.

It appears, however, that, except the religious bigotry of the eastern emperor, his political talents were well adapted to govern a great empire. He knew how to restrain the fury of the surrounding barbarians, and to direct the force and judgment of the state to appropriate ends. The death of Gratian in the west, by the usurper Maximus, was not revenged

till a fit opportunity presented, when he raised Valentinian II. the brother of Gratian, upon the throne; nor did he crush the rebellion of Eugenius, the successor of that prince, till he was sure of success. The empire was, notwithstanding, on every side approaching to destruction, and his death, which happened in 395, terminated the splendor of the Roman empire. His sons,

ARCADIUS AND HONORIUS,

Were, indeed, elected as emperors of the east and west, without opposition; but a series of civil wars, of rebellions and invasions, disturbed the happiness of their reign and the peace of mankind. Egypt, owing to her insular situation, was happily free from those commotions; and, except for the religious disputes, which soured the enjoyment of her happiness, she experienced at this time an uninterrupted flow of peace, tranquillity, and abundance.

The succeeding century, however, paved the way for a new order of things. Alaric, the chief of the Goths, poured his hostile legions into the lap of Italy, and after a series of convulsions, accomplished the downfall of Roman glory. The city was repeatedly sacked, and the paltry remains of Roman power was removed to Ravenna, where, in a short time after, it was extirpated by succeeding spoilers. Britain then assumed a form of independence for herself; Gaul and Spain were governed by the Goths and Vandals; and each province throughout the western empire be-

came an independent nation.

The little connection which now ſubſiſted betwixt conquered Rome and the Conſtantinopolitan empire, under which Egypt ſtill continued as a province, renders it unneceſſary to purſue the fate of the weſtern nations. But on the death of Arcadius, in the eaſt, in 408,

THEODOSIUS II.

Though an infant of ſeven years old, aſſumed the reigns of government. By the prudent meaſures of his miniſter, the fate of the eaſtern empire was for a time ſuſpended; but a war with the Perſians, and the inceſſant inroads of the Huns and Scythians, rendered his reign a period of anarchy, of diſaſter, and unhappineſs. The latter years of his life were indeed ſomewhat ſweetened by tranquillity; but it was reſerved for his ſucceſſor,

MARCIAN,

To enjoy an uninterrupted repoſe of a ſeven years reign.

LEO THE GREAT

Diſtinguiſhed the period of his reign by a great and unſucceſsful expedition againſt Genſeric, king of the Vandals; but its failure produced an oppoſite effect from what the general expectation had anticipated. The troops of Egypt and Arabia were tranſported acroſs the deſarts of Lybia, under the command of their prefect, Heraclius; and had the naval commander of the imperial forces diſcharged his duty,

the power of the African conqueror would have been annihilated. But the genius of this barbarian extricated himself from destruction; the imperial fleet was set on fire in the dead of night, and it was with difficulty that one-half of the navy and army could be preserved. Had Genseric followed up his victory, the provinces of Egypt and Syria would have been easily subdued, and even the Byzantine capital might have been endangered. But, like the character of a pirate, he contented himself with making sudden inroads into the surrounding countries, and, after loading himself with booty, retired to his den upon the coasts of Africa. After a reign of seventeen years, his infant grandson,

LEO,

Was created emperor. But he occupied the throne only ten short months, when his father,

ZENO,

Who was formerly his guardian, became sole emperor of the east. The widow of the elder Leo, however, soon undermined his power, and he fled at the appearance of danger, to give way to the infamous Basiliscus, who in his turn was displaced by the displeasure of the female who had raised him. Zeno being again restored to the throne by the intrigue of his mother-in-law, he held his precarious fortune amid foreign and domestic dissentions, and in the midst of a rebellion, in which Egypt was a principal concerned, for the space of seventeen years.

In the year 491, the aged

ANASTASIUS

was raiſed to the Purple by the widow of Zeno; and though nothing intereſting during his reign can claim our attention, except the uſual diſſenſions with the Perſians and the Barbarians, yet the religious writers of his day were profuſe in their epithets of praiſe and of blame, reſpecting his interference with the Catholics. A perſecution is ſaid to have been inſtituted againſt the church; but the amiable character which he ſupported during a period of 27 years, juſtify the allegations of cotemporary authors, that it was more to repreſs their ambitious commotions, than to puniſh them for their opinions.

JUSTIN,

A man who had experienced all the gradations from poverty to wealth, was promoted, on the death of Anaſtaſius, from *Prefectus Pretorio*, to the dignity of Emperor. Being educated in the firmeſt principles of the Catholics, though at the ſame time ignorant of the alphabet, he reſtored thoſe biſhops who were in exile during the former reign, and ordered an exemplary puniſhment upon the abettors of their diſgrace. He reigned nine years, without experiencing any of thoſe difficulties which his predeceſſors had encountered; and his nephew,

JUSTINIAN,

Was declared Emperor of the Eaſt, upon his death, in the 527th year of the Chriſtian æra. Reduced by

indolence, luxury, and vice, to a ſtate of abject degradation, and dependent upon ſtrangers and barbarians for the ſecurity and defence of the empire. the Roman name was become an empty and ridiculous appellation, without ſenſe or meaning. In this ſtate of weakneſs and diſgrace, Juſtinian aſcended the imperial throne; and by his activity, abilities, and enterprizing exertions, inſpired the latent genius of the empire with renewed vigour, and once more exalted her venerable head, before ſhe drooped for ever. By the talents of Belizarius and Narſes, two of the greateſt generals of the age, the Vandals were extirpated from Africa; the Goths from Italy; and the Huns, the Scythians, and the Perſians, were reſtrained within their ancient boundaries. The inſtitutes of the firſt principles of law were carefully compiled for the uſe of thoſe who wiſhed to ſtudy the profeſſion of a Civilian; and a code of laws was digeſted, which included the wiſdom of the ancient republic and the juriſprudence of Greece. Theſe wiſe and laborious duties have been the ſubject of admiration for ſucceeding ages, and twelve centuries have ſince elapſed, without the ſubſtitution of any regulations more valuable or juſt, for the direction of the prince or the magiſtrate. A long reign of 39 years was employed in reconquering the loſt dominions of Rome, and in reducing the maxims of his government into practice; and during that eventful period, Egypt enjoyed an uninterrupted ſhare of tranquillity. Towards the

latter part of his life, indeed, the repoſe of the Catholic Egyptian church was diſturbed by ſome religious phantaſies; but it was only the alarm of a moment. His death, which happened ſoon after, re-eſtabliſhed the power and harmony of the church, and the piety of the Egyptians continued to ſecure them from the deſigns of the ſeditious and the enterprizing.

JUSTIN II.

Aſſumed the ſceptre of his uncle, Juſtinian, on his demiſe; but being poſſeſſed of neither his virtues nor his abilities, the "annals of his reign are marked with diſgrace abroad and miſery at home. In the weſt, the Roman empire was afflicted by the loſs of Italy, the deſolation of Africa, and the conqueſts of the Perſians. Injuſtice prevailed both in the capital and in the provinces; the rich trembled for their property, the poor for their ſafety, and the ordinary magiſtrates were ignorant or venal." Such was the unhappy æra of the unhappy Juſtin's reign; but his declining the labours of government in favour of his chief captain,

TIBERIUS,

Diſplays a mind ſuperior to the trammels of ambition or of fame.

TIBERIUS II.

However, only lived four years; but, unlike his imperial nameſake, he acted the part of a patriot king, and diffuſed the bleſſings of peace and harmony to every part of his dominions.—His ſucceſſor,

MAURICE,

Was likewiſe worthy of his choice, and of the peo-

ple's approbation. For 20 years he weilded the ſceptre with juſtice and moderation; but, in attempting to reform the habits and vices of his ſoldiers, a mutiny deprived him of his crown and his life.

PHOCAS

Was next raiſed to the throne by the rebellion againſt Maurice; but he was ignorant, vicious, and a coward. Poſſeſſed of no qualities to diſtinguiſh him as a prince, he rendered his reign memorable only by his luſt, his drunkenneſs, and his cruelty. Eight years, however, terminated his power, when

HERACLIUS,

The eldeſt ſon of the Exarch, (or deputy governor) of Africa, who had arrived before Conſtantinople with a formidable fleet, aſſumed the imperial authority; and his friend Nicetas ſilenced oppoſition, by marching through Egypt, Syria, and Aſia Minor, at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army. Choſroes, the king (or more properly the tyrant) of Perſia, who had no ties to reſtrain him from war and plunder, but a ſuperiority of ſtrength and abilities, abandoned the friendſhip he formerly profeſſed to the Romans, upon the death of Phocas, and declared for the extirpation of the chriſtians, and the annihilation of Heraclius' power. His threats were, indeed, rapidly ſucceeded by invaſion, and the firſt news of his approach was accompanied with an account of the deſtruction of Antioch, the capital of Syria. The forces of the empire, which before ſeemed ſo irreſiſti-

ble, were mowed down before the furious aſſault of the Perſian; nor did their ſucceſs abate, till they had immolated 90,000 chriſtians in cold blood, and rifled Jeruſalem, and every church in Paleſtine, of the devout offerings of more than three centuries.

Amid ſuch ſcenes of devaſtation and plunder, the horror-ſtruck inhabitants felt no other emotion than to fly in every direction from the preſence of the cruel Choſroes. Egypt received the fugitives at firſt with conſiderable alarm; but the benevolent archbiſhop of Alexandria, with the dignified charity of a chriſtian, diſtributed the treaſures of the church with a liberal hand, without calculating conſequences, to all who claimed his protection. Two years of repoſe in Syria and Paleſtine had, however, exhauſted every means of indulgence, when the army of Perſia moved towards the weſt. Indifferently ſupplied with the means of defence, Egypt preſented but a feeble oppoſition to the arms of Choſroes. Peluſium was ſurprized and taken by a body of cavalry, the vanguard of the Perſians; and the whole army paſſed over the different branches of the Nile, without experiencing either check or reſiſtance. Exempt ſince the time of Diocleſian from foreign and domeſtic war, the Egyptians were now ſcourged with the rod of a cruel maſter. The treaſures of the churches were not only forfeited to his rapacity, but every moveable in which either gold or ſilver formed a part, was tranſported to his capitals, Cteſiphon and Seleucia. Alex-

andria might have oppoſed his progreſs, till it could have been relieved by a naval armament; but the prefect and the archbiſhop embarked for Cyprus, and the gates of the capital were thrown open by the people to the ſucceſſors of Cyrus. Choſroes, now ſole maſter of the lives and fortunes of the Egyptians, ſpared their capital on account of its founder, Alexander; but marched forward to the gates of Tripoli, finally extirpated the Greek colony of Cyrene, and, in humble imitation of the afore-mentioned conqueror, marched in triumph to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, through the deſarts of Lybia. Such was the progreſs of this firebrand of deſtruction in the weſt, while a race of warlike barbarians from the eaſt carried their inſatiable incurſions from the fields of Thrace to the confines of Iſtria.

During theſe dreadful ravages of Choſroes and the Avars, Heraclius, for the firſt ten years of his reign, appeared inſenſible of the fate of the empire, and ſeemed to reſt ſecure from alarm in the arms of luxury and ſloth. Rouzed at length to a ſenſe of ſhame or of danger, he no ſooner found that the Roman empire was confined to the walls of Conſtantinople, the remnant of Greece, and a few maritime cities, and the capital reduced to a ſtate of famine from a want of ſupplies from Egypt, than he became hopeleſs of relief, and reſolved to transfer his perſon and government to the more ſecure reſidence of Cathage. His intentions, however, being diſcovered, the pa-

triarch of the capital arreſted his flight, and forced him, by a ſolemn oath, to declare that he would live and die with his ſubjects. Several attempts were now made to purchaſe an inglorious peace, but without avail. Choſroes was deaf to all intreaties, and, like Charles the 12th of Sweden in his reply to Peter, would treat no where elſe but in Conſtantinople. The patience of the emperor, like the baited bull, was ſoon exhauſted. He unſheathed his ſword, and threw away the ſcabbard; and, like the indignant animal alluded to, was determined to obtain juſtice, or fall in the ſtruggle. Repeated inſults had rouzed the public mind; and a band of deſperate, though undiſciplined patriots, were ranged around the ſtandard of Heraclius, and prepared for any enterprize. He aſſembled, and embarked himſelf and ſoldiers on board a well-appointed fleet, and ſoon after landed in the gulph of Scanderoon, where he encamped his army, in order to improve them in the neceſſary diſcipline, and reclaim them from ſlothful and effeminate habits. The neceſſary leſſons of military tactics are ſpeedily underſtood by willing ſoldiers; and ere a few months had elapſed, Choſroes had to repent, with the loſs of ſeveral armies, that he had not improved the opportunity that was offered him, of making peace upon his own terms. For three ſucceſſive years, an uninterrupted tide of proſperity attended the Roman arms; nor did the repeated defections of Choſroes' allies, the Avars, and his own reverſe of fortune, teach

the arrogant tyrant of Perſia to ſubmit to any honorable conditions. Repelled from every province he had invaded, Choſroes was in his turn compelled to rally his ſcattered forces, in order to defend his hereditary dominions. Garriſon after garriſon, and city after city, became ſubject to the power of Heraclius, till after ſix years of uninterrupted hoſtility the fate of Perſia was at his diſpoſal. The death of Choſroes alone brought the ſcene of warfare to a period; and a peace, upon equitable terms, was ultimately concluded betwixt Heraclius and his ſon.

Thus, by the bravery of Heraclius and his veteran ſoldiers, was Egypt again delivered from the oppreſſion of the Perſians. But although he reſtored peace to the empire, and re-eſtabliſhed the former order of things in the provinces, there were enemies ſtill lurking, who only awaited fit opportunities to wreſt the faireſt domains of Aſia and Europe into their hands. The Romans had already diſplayed their weakneſs, in ſuffering the Perſians and the Avars to devaſtate their country to the gates of the capital; and it was only from the wonderful exertions of Heraclius, who reſembled the dying ſtruggles of a hero, that the empire was ſaved only for a moment. His declining years were, however, ſpent in a ſimilar manner with the prior period of his reign, in ſloth and effeminacy; for although the Avars were ſubdued on one ſide, and the Perſians on the other, freſh hordes of barbarian heroes made their appearance in the room of the for-

mer, while the Arabs (vulgarly denominated Saracens) imperceptibly roſe in the place of the latter. The triumphs, therefore, of Heraclius were but ſhort-lived. For eight years of his remaining life-time, he foreſaw the approaching ruin of the ſtate; and his laſt moments were embittered with the intelligence, that the impious apoſtles of Mahomet were in poſſeſſion of thoſe fertile provinces that were reſcued from the hands of the Perſians.

The reign of Heraclius occupied a period of 31 years; and though the æra of his death, which ſo much abridged the Roman empire, occurred in the year 641, it will be neceſſary to begin the enſuing chapter with an earlier date, as the germ of a new government and a new order of things had already commenced in Arabia, the effects of which was ſpeedily communicated to Egypt, a few years preceding that event.



CHAP. II.

The life, doctrines, and ſucceſs of Mahomet; with the hiſtory of the Caliphs, his ſucceſſors, ſo far as relates to Egypt, till the time of Saladin and the extinction of the Caliphate.

IN the preceding chapter, we have curſorily ſurveyed the hiſtory of the Roman empire, (of which Egypt formed a province) from the union of its parts under Auguſtus, till the ſubdiviſion of that unweildy maſs of nations under the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine. By the remiſſneſs of the once brave Heraclius, the branches of the eaſtern diviſion were rent aſunder from the parent ſtem; and the power of his ſurviving offspring was confined to the neighbourhood of Conſtantinople and a few maritime towns. The conqueſt of ſeveral garriſons ſkirting the deſarts of Arabia was followed by the reduction of Paleſtine and Syria, when the Saracens, fluſhed with victory and with enthuſiaſm, extended their ambitious views to Aſia and Egypt, to Africa and Europe. To trace the cauſe and circumſtances of theſe wonderful events, will form the ſubject of the following pages; for while we detail the origin and progreſs of Mahomet and his doctrines, we are only relating the commencement of a ſyſtem of politics and religion which has governed Egypt, and the faireſt parts of

Aſia, Africa, and Europe, from the beginning of the 7th century till the period of our own times.

In our paſſing ſketch of the hiſtory of Chriſtianity under Conſtantine, we had occaſion to obſerve and to lament, that the pure philoſophy of Chriſt was converted into an engine of policy and of ſtate convenience. From the reign of that monarch to the æra we are treating of, a period of 300 years had occurred; and, during that interval, no reign had tranſpired, without the moſt diſgraceful ſcenes of bigotry, of hypocriſy, of profaneneſs, or of perſecution, having been regularly diſplayed. The ambitious zeal of Athanaſius and his Egyptian compeers, led the way to a controverſy which was ſealed only by gold and by blood; and every ſucceeding primate of Alexandria, of Antioch, or of Conſtantinople, was more or leſs deeply engaged in developing or contradicting ſome *holy myſtery* or ſome *pious* juggle. The empe-perors themſelves were either zealouſly intereſted in theſe controverſies, or looked on with politic compoſure, ſuffering one part of their ſubjects to cut the throats of the other. On preſſing occaſions, both biſhops and archbiſhops were raiſed amid bloodſhed to their thrones, upon the ſhoulders of the ſoldiery; while ſome pious miniſter, or inoffenſive primate, was thrown into priſon or into exile. The deliberate chriſtian of the preſent day would ſhudder at the recital of horrors that were in thoſe days perpetrated in the name of religion; but his wonder would be increaſed, on ſee-

ing ſimilar ſcenes ſuffered to be repeated, when it was in the power of magiſtrates or of prefects to have prevented them. They can find their apology only in the policy of the times. Years of peace and tranquillity were formerly the æras of ſeditions, of rebellions, and of civil wars. Religious diſputes were now more eaſily fomented than an inſurrection; and ſo long as the public mind could be diverted from the actions of a tyrant, or the abuſes of a government, a new biſhop, or a few pieces of gold, were obſtacles of inconſiderable moment.

The humble chriſtian of the firſt century was taught in the ſimple ſchool of morality; but the learned teachers, after the time of Conſtantine, conſidered the *faith* of chriſtians as the *only* paſſport to ſalvation. Creeds among the various ſectaries neceſſarily aroſe: The nature of the Godhead, ſo warmly conteſted by the chriſtians of the 4th century, was followed by the doctrine of the incarnation; and for the ſpace of 250 years, an uninterrupted courſe of religious rancour and religious war was kept alive in the chriſtian churches of the eaſt by theſe two formidable ſubjects, which continued, and will ever continue, undecided by the faith of mankind.

The monaſtic life was likewiſe productive of numerous opinions and various ſuperſtitions. From the renouncement of the buſineſs and pleaſures of the world, and the voluntary mortification of their bodies and affections, the monks firſt inſpired the wonder,

and then the reſpect of the multitude. Anthony, an illiterate youth of Egypt, the original founder of this fantaſtic mode of life, deſerted his family and his friends, and after diſtributing his patrimony among the poor, performed a painful noviciate among the tombs eaſtward of the Nile, and then proceeded through the deſart till he found a lonely ſpot on the top of mount Colzoum, in the neighbourhood of the Red Sea. There he fixed his reſidence, but the fame of his devotion purſued him to the deſart. Athanaſius, and even Conſtantine, by the moſt reſpectful invitations, would have raiſed him to the high dignities of the church: But he declined the proffered honours; and St. Anthony continued till the venerable age of an hundred and five years, diſpenſing his holy benedictions and pious leſſons to the numerous crowds who viſited his cell. Various orders of monks, anchorets, and hermits aroſe, after the example of *Saint* Anthony; and they multiplied with ſuch a rapid increaſe, that the barren deſarts of Lybia and the rocks of Thebais could number at one time nearly one-third of the population of Egypt. The deſart of Nitria alone, to the ſouth of Alexandria, contained five thouſand diſciples of the pious Anthony; and the traveller may ſtill perceive the veſtiges, in that barren deſart, of fifty monaſteries. In Tabenne, a ſmall iſland of the Nile in Upper Egypt, Pachomius, and fourteen hundred of his brethren, performed their nightly vigils; and fifty thouſand people of both

ſexes were united in one monaſtic and "angelic rule of diſcipline," under the ſpiritual direction of this *heavenly* anchoret. Such, indeed, was the devotion of the Egyptians, that "poſterity might repeat the ſaying which had formerly been applied to the ſacred animals of the ſame country, That, in Egypt, it was leſs difficult to find a god than a man."

From Egypt this *ſacred* flame was diffuſed over every quarter of the chriſtian world, till every nation could boaſt of its *Saints* and *holy* hermits. Mankind, from an inſenſible admiration of their piety, elected them for their heavenly teachers: But "ambition ſoon diſcovered the ſecret road which led to wealth and honours;" and the hypocrite could forſee that coporal flaggelation in a monaſtry might procure him an epiſcopal crown, as well as pariſitically bowing to a prefect or a monarch. To excite ſtill more the veneration of the multitude, their midnight viſions were brought into alliance with their devotions; ſo that, in length of time, the frenzied imaginations of the cloiſtered fanatic were eſtimated as the language of prophecy and inſpiration. Miracles ſoon followed theſe popular deluſions; and ſo far did they carry their work of deception and ſuperſtition, that it was imagined, by the groſs conceptions of the vulgar, a Syrian monk, or an Egyptian ſaint, could "interrupt the eternal laws of the univerſe*."

* The favorites of heaven were accuſtomed to cure inveterate diſeaſes with a touch, a word, or a diſtant meſſage; and to expel

At the end of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century, the Pagan worſhip was extirpated, the ſtatues of the gods were annihilated, and the heathen temples appropriated to the purpoſes of the chriſtians. Upon the ruins of the ancient religion, a curious, but at the ſame time a remarkable, change occurred. The niches of the temples, which were formerly adorned with the heathen deities, were now converted to a ſimilar purpoſe in the chriſtian worſhip. The reſemblance of the chriſtian martyrs were erected in their place, and were venerated with a ſimilar reſpect to which the ancient Pagans were accuſtomed. Statues were then multiplied with curious devotion, till the pious multitude proceeded from ſimple veneration to acts of prayer and adoration, in order to relieve their doubts, or pardon their iniquities. The tombs of the martyrs were viſited from an opinion, that their ſouls hovered over their earthly relics; and their ſtatues received a ſolemn, religious obeiſance, as if the martyrs themſelves had been actually before them. Rites and ceremonies were introduced into the ſervice of

the moſt obſtinate demons from the ſouls or bodies which they poſſeſſed. They familiarly accoſted, or imperiouſly commanded, the lions and ſerpents of the deſart; infuſed vegetation into a ſapleſs trunk; ſuſpended iron on the ſurface of the water; paſſed the Nile on the back of a crocodile, and refreſhed themſelves in a fiery furnace. Theſe extravagant tales, which diſplay the fiction without the genius of poetry, have ſeriouſly affected the reaſon, the faith, and the morals of the chriſtians. GIBBON.

the church, which were calculated to impreſs the minds of the vulgar with religious enthuſiaſm; and the popular polytheiſm of the ancients was reduced to a new ſhape, but equally ridiculous with its prototype. Hence aroſe thoſe rich and *pious* offerings at the ſhrines of favorite ſaints or martyrs; and from theſe ſources are to be deduced the trade of pilgrimages, and the miraculous powers of the duſt, the bones and the blood of the ſaints.

Such is a ſhort outline of the ſtate of Chriſtianity in the beginning of the ſeventh century, when Mahomet, the ſon of Abdallah, of the family of Haſhem, and the tribe of Koreiſh, appeared in the Arabian horizon. Born of an illuſtrious family in the year 569, about four years after the death of Juſtinian, Mahomet was educated in all the accompliſhments of his nation. Though he had the misfortune to loſe his father, mother, and grandfather, with the greateſt part of the family inheritance, at an early age; yet his uncle, Abu Taleb, became his guardian and protector, and till his marriage with Cadija, a rich and noble widow of Mecca, was treated by him in every reſpect like his own ſon. Poſſeſſed of an elegant perſon and a command of language, he endeared himſelf, even at an early age, to all with whom he had connection, by the affability of his manners and the integrity of his conduct. Being, like the principal men of his country, a merchant, and a man of obſervation, he had frequent opportunities, in the different

countries he visited, of perceiving the jarring opinions of the Christian sectaries, the Jewish rabbis, and the Persian magi. It is related, however, with all his accomplishments, that he was illiterate. Nevertheless, the book of nature and of man was open to his view, and, with all his imperfections, an original genius and heroic imagination seem to be pre-eminent in all his actions. An acquaintance with the weakness of the Roman and the Persian empires must be allowed him; and, with respect to his knowledge of the extent and weakness of the human heart, the establishment of his power and his religion is a sufficient proof.

At the age of 40, and 15 years after his marriage with Cadija, Mahomet commenced the propagation of his new religion, or (as he expressed himself) of re-establishing the religion of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and of their forefathers. The religion of his countrymen was purely idolatrous; but the errors, the absurdities, and the superstitions of the christians, and withal their mutual persecutions, afforded him ample room to hope for and expect success. The pure religion of Christ was almost, if not totally, obscured. The worship of relics, images, and martyrs, obliterated the knowledge of truth and of the Deity; and the mysteries of the Trinity and of the Incarnation presented a perpetual stumbling block to the simple christian, who could not comprehend the necessity of believing what he did not understand. To

avoid, therefore, the errors and ſuperſtitions of the Chriſtians, the abſurdities of the Jews, the idolatry of the Perſians and his countrymen, his creed was diveſted of all ſuſpicion or ambiguity; and he boldly, but piouſly, announced, that "THERE IS NO GOD BUT ONE, AND MAHOMET IS HIS PROPHET."

Whatever may be our or the reader's ſentiments reſpecting the real or pretended miſſion of the Arabian prophet, it muſt be allowed that his principles of morality would not have diſgraced the character of Socrates or of Jeſus. How far, it may be alledged, his own ſubſequent conduct, or that of his ſucceſſors, deviated from theſe principles, we will not at preſent inveſtigate; but to the character, or the ſemblance, of truth and liberality which he profeſſed, was Mahomet principally, if not alone, indebted to his early ſucceſs. Copying the pattern of preceding prophets, he allowed them the ſame credit which he claimed for himſelf; and inculcated the doctrines of Moſes and of Jeſus, with the aſſurance that he alone was fulfilling the faithful promiſe of the Holy Ghoſt, which was to be accompliſhed in the perſon of Mahomet, the laſt and greateſt of the apoſtles of God. The converſion of his wife, and his favorite ſlave, Zeid, was ſucceeded by that of the illuſtrious Ali, the ſon of his friend and benefactor, Abu Taleb; but the acquiſition of the faithful and worthy Abubeker was the principal foundation of his future hopes. Abubeker's character was that of a veteran and an upright man; and

his eloquence was irreſiſtible, owing to the eſtimation in which that character was held. Ten of the principal citizens of Mecca were immediately perſuaded by his example; and, in the courſe of three years, Mahomet had acquired fourteen diſciples, by whom his religion and his armies were in future deſtined to be propagated and commanded. The fourth year of his miſſion was diſtinguiſhed by an open avowal of the prophetic character; and by a feſtival which he gave to forty of the principal men of his family, he publicly announced his intention of propagating the faith and religion of Iſlamiſm. A painful period of ten years was, however, exerciſed within the walls of Mecca, before he could number one hundred proſelytes; and before the expiration of that term, a ſtorm of national indignation was ready to burſt upon his devoted head. The reſpectability of Abu Taleb, with the moderation of Abubeker, for a time averted the blow; but after repeated threats, and a ſeries of provocations, by the ſtern reſiſtance of the Haſhemites, the Koreiſh were determined not only to renounce all intercourſe with the enemies of their religion, but to ſacrifice the perſon of Mahomet to the juſtice of the gods.

In this predicament, the proſcribed prophet was compelled to ſeek ſhelter in ſome ſecret aſylum, till he could ſecure his retreat to a place of ſafety. His followers tranſported themſelves into Ethiopia, where they procured a precarious protection under a chriſ-

rian prince. Meanwhile the people of Medina became interested in the fate of Mahomet. Several of the inhabitants of that city, who had been Arian christians, having been on a visit to Mecca, were converted to Islamism, and engaged to propagate the religion of Mahomet among their brethren. On their return, the new religion was preached with wonderful success; and when the persecution of the Koreish deprived their prophet of his liberty, an embassy from Medina solicited his presence in their city. An exile from the place of his nativity, and hourly exposed to fresh indignities, such a message from his friends in Medina was received by Mahomet with gratitude. The opportunity and the means of going thither were now his principal embarrassments; but the loyalty of his two friends accomplished the purposes of the prophet. In the dead of night, when the guards of the Koreish surrounded his house, he secretly eluded their vigilance, and the youthful Ali favoured his escape. The ingenious contrivance of being covered with the green vestment of the prophet, as if he himself was asleep, has been extolled by the Moslems as the intervention of a miracle. Be that as it may, though the heroic piety of Ali had rescued Mahomet from one danger, he had yet to encounter many, before he arrived at a place of safety. The cave of Thor, at the distance of a league from Mecca, was resorted to by Mahomet and his friend Abubeker, as their place of concealment, till the ardour of pursuit was abated.

The active emiſſaries of the Koreiſh had explored every haunt in the neighbourhood of the city, and on their arrival at the cavern, the trembling fugitives expected every moment to be diſcovered. But the happy deception of a ſpider's web and a pigeon's neſt deceived the unſuſpicious Arabs, and they paſſed the ſecret aſylum, from a conviction of its being ſolitary and inviolate. After three days of cloſe confinement, they ventured, amid various dangers, on their journey; and, with the aſſiſtance of two camels, at length reached Medina, the place of their deſtination, and the theatre of Mahomet's future glory.*

Received by the people of Medina with loud and welcome acclamations, the future deſigns of the prophet began gradually to expand. His prophetic character being primarily eſtabliſhed, it became neceſſary ſoon after to aſſume the authority of a prince. The policy which he purſued, was to cement the jarring

* On the road to Medina, they were overtaken by the emiſſaries of the Koreiſh; they redeemed themſelves with prayers and promiſes from their hands. In this eventful moment, the lance of an Arab might have changed the hiſtory of the world. The flight of the prophet has fixed the memorable æra of the HEGIRA, which, at the end of twelve centuries, ſtill diſcriminates the lunar years of the Mahomet nations.—The Hegira was inſtituted by Omar, the ſecond Caliph, in imitation of the æra of the martyrs of the chriſtians; and properly commenced 68 days before the flight of Mahomet, with the firſt of Moharren, or firſt day of that Arabian year, which coincides with Friday, July 16th, 622 years after Chriſt. GIBBON.

intereſts of the different tribes into one compact union, in order that they might be actuated with one ſentiment in the accompliſhment of his religious and ambitious views. His ſucceſs was, with little interruption, uniform; and, after ſeveral predatory excurſions againſt the caravans of the Koreiſh, his army increaſed by the hope of plunder, till he was able not only to cope with his former adverſaries, but the united forces of ſeveral tribes. To the moderation and ſelf-government of his mind, was the increaſe of his power to be principally attributed, in this early period of his hiſtory. He never ſuffered his revenge for former inſults to be placed in competition with an acceſſion to the ſtrength and numbers of his army. A new revelation was communicated, and a new chapter of the Koran was compoſed, in every critical emergency; ſo that the policy of the prophet always kept pace with the deſigns of the conqueror. From treaties of alliance, the alteration was trivial to conditions of capitulation. An error, or an overſight, was ſoon converted into a ſubject for contention, till the principal tribes ſurrounding Medina were compelled to acknowledge and embrace the ſtandard of Iſlamiſm. The infidels, ſingle and diſpirited, were thus compelled to ſurrender to the growing power of the prophet; but his faſcinating manners, and his enthuſiaſtic eloquence, ſoon made them converts to his faith. The power of the Koreiſh could not now withſtand his progreſs; and after the battle of Beder, in which

a body of 950 men were defeated with a band of 313 Moſlems, their reſentment was ſucceeded by deſpair. A more formidable engagement was, nevertheleſs, reſolved upon; and the Meccans, after collecting an army of 3000 men, accompanied with as many camels, and in which 700 were armed with curiaſſes and 200 were mounted on horſeback, marched to attack the Moſlems under the command of their brave leader, Abu Sophian. Nine hundred and fifty believers could only be collected to withſtand this powerful army; but the battle was conteſted with obſtinate valour; and, though Mahomet himſelf was wounded, and the Moſlems obliged to retire, the Koreiſh wanted either ſtrength or courage to follow up their victory. The enemies of the prophet, however, upon the news of this defeat, united their forces under the banners of Abu Sophian, and laid ſiege to Medena the following year with an army of 10,000 men. For twenty days the city of the prophet was ſurrounded, and the power of Iſlamiſm was ſuſpended by a thread. But the courage of Ali, the cajoling promiſes of Mahomet, and a ſeaſonable tempeſt, divided the army of the confederates; and the ſiege was precipitately abandoned, without producing any other effect than deriſion by the Moſlems, and mutual quarrels among their allied armies.

From the period of this memorable ſiege, the dawning power of the Saracen empire may be dated. Mahomet ſucceſſively ſubdued the refractory Jews and

Chriſtians of Arabia; the hoſtile tribe of the Koreiſh, and his native city; with the wandering Bedouins of the deſart. One only enemy he had yet to contend with, the obſtinate remnants of the ancient worſhip, who took refuge within the fertile juriſdiction of Tayef. A deſperate and bloody battle, however, decided their fate; and, after a ſiege of 20 days, a timely ſubmiſſion to the laws of Mahomet prevented their extirpation. The numerous tribes of Arabia were now united into one nation; the opprobrious name of *tribute* was aboliſhed, the epithet of *alms for the ſervice of God and his prophet* being ſubſtituted in its ſtead; and the ſtrength of the Moſlems who were able to bear arms were enumerated at one hundred and fourteen thouſand.

The power of Mahomet being firmly eſtabliſhed in Arabia, he now directed his ambitious aim to ſubjugate all the ſurrounding nations of which he poſſeſſed any knowledge. Letters were diſpatched to the courts of Perſia, Conſtantinople, and Ethiopia, inviting them to the profeſſion of Iſlamiſm. He concealed his real purpoſes, till he could obtain an accurate idea of their political ſtrength; but the murder of an envoy, on his return from the court of Heraclius, afforded him a well-grounded pretence to attempt the conqueſt of Paleſtine and Syria. An army of 3000 faithful votaries was diſpatched to the territory of the chriſtians; but after an action of uncommon obſtinacy, in which three of the Moſlem leaders were ſlain, the expedition

terminated without effecting a ſingle conqueſt. The ardour of the Arabians, however, was inflamed, rather than allayed, by the diſcomfiture; and Mahomet ſolemnly proclaimed war againſt the Romans, notwithſtanding the formidable preparations of his enemies. In this ſtate of the public mind, the prophet himſelf, however, was taken ill of a fever, and for fourteen days he languiſhed under the diſeaſe, which at intervals deprived him of his reaſon.

During this illneſs, which proved to be mortal, Mahomet beheld the approach of death with temperate firmneſs, enfranchiſed his male and female ſlaves, moderated the grief of his friends, and gave directions reſpecting his funeral. Till the third day before his diſſolution, he appeared to his followers, and performed the offices of public prayer; and, in the moment of expiration, he breathed his laſt in the lap of Ayeſha, the beſt beloved of his wives, exclaiming, in an articulate voice, "O God! pardon my ſins.——Yes.——I come among my fellow citizens on high."

About four years before the death of Mahomet, he had been attempted to be poiſoned by the hands of a female Jew; but not having taſted much of the food in which the poiſon was prepared, he avoided its effects. His death at this period not only deranged for a time their propoſed war againſt the Romans, but occaſioned a ſeries of tumults and public commotions. The account of his death was diſbelieved by the fanatic crowd; and even the warlike Omar unſheathed his

ſcymitar, and threatened to ſtrike off the heads of thoſe unbelievers who affirmed that he was no more. The faithful Abubeker, however, appeaſed the public mind, by diſplaying the corpſe of the prophet, and declaring, that "The God of Mahomet liveth for ever, but that the apoſtle was a mortal like themſelves, and, according to his own prediction, had experienced the common fate of mortality." On the ſame ſpot where he expired, there he was interred; and ſurrounding his grave a magnificent tomb was built, at the top of which a cupola was erected. Mecca, the birth-place of the prophet, has been always the reſort of the numerous pilgrims of the Mahometan belief; but the pious Muſſelman who truly venerates the founder of his faith, ſteps aſide from the common route, and viſits Medina, the reſidence of the laſt ten years of his life, and the tomb where his aſhes repoſe.

The character of Mahomet has been equally the theme of eulogy and reproach; but to obſerve a middle courſe, we find much to applaud, though more to blame. Had he made uſe of the prophetic character in reforming the abuſes that had crept into chriſtianity, or reclaimed the Perſian and the Arabian religion from the abſurdities of polytheiſm, his popular deluſions might have been excuſed, as he would have conferred an important obligation on poſterity. But the event of his early ſucceſs inſpired him with a different object than the propagation of truth; and he continued to practiſe a religion com-

pounded of wiſdom and folly, of moral and divine truths, with the profaneſt and moſt ridiculous phantaſies, for the ſole purpoſe of accompliſhing the end of his ambition. It would be injuſtice not to allow that the original intenſions of Mahomet might be pure and benevolent; and it would be equally abſurd to deny that ſeveral of his moral maxims and religious ſentiments are not only judicious, but of refined excellence: Yet the propagation of his faith by the ſword, diſcovered at once the aim of the one; while his pride, his fradulence in regard to treaties, and his luſt, evince the ſincerity of the other. It may be conſidered, indeed, ſays the judicious Gibbon, that "the ſtep from enthuſiaſm to impoſture is perilous and ſlippery: the demon of Socrates affords a memorable inſtance how a wiſe man may deceive himſelf, how a good man may deceive others, and how the conſcience may ſlumber in a mixed and middle ſtate between ſelf-illuſion and voluntary fraud." To do juſtice to his panegyriſts, however, it muſt be granted, that his private life, when unconnected with public buſineſs, was that of a juſt, charitable, and humane man. No act of tyranny or injuſtice was ever perpetrated under his authority; the rich and the poor partook equally of his juſtice; his purſe was ever open to relieve the indigent; and his humanity and generoſity was even acknowledged by his enemies.

ABUBEKER.

Mahomet being without a male child to inherit his power or his fortunes, a ſerious diviſion aroſe among the Moſlem leaders, who ſhould occupy the vacant pulpit and the throne of the prophet. Ali, the firſt and braveſt of his followers, had the beſt and moſt general claim to the Caliphate*. But the venerable Abubeker, the valiant Omar, and the truſty Othman, had likewiſe powerful pretenſions to that dignity.

* The meaning of the term CALIPH is, in Arabic, SUCCESSOR; which epithet being beſtowed upon Ali, when Mahomet firſt aſſumed the character of prophet, has occaſioned a ſerious rupture among the Moſlems ever ſince Mahomet's death. The Haſhemites, the tribe of the family of both Mahomet and Ali, refuſed their allegiance to the firſt Caliph, Abubeker, becauſe they believed that Ali was the only lawful ſucceſſor on account of Mahomet's original declaration, which in their opinion could never be reſcinded. Hence aroſe a diviſion in the faith of Iſlamiſm, which has occaſioned the following diſtinctions:—Thoſe who conſider Abubeker to have been the lawful ſucceſſor of Mahomet, are known by the name of Sonnites, or Traditioniſts; which implies believers in the oral law, or maxims of Mahomet, which were compiled by Abubeker, as well as the written law which had been compoſed in his lifetime. The other diſclaim the authority of the oral law, and are on that account branded with the name of Heretics, but more commonly diſtinguiſhed by the epithet Shiites, or Sectaries. From this circumſtance aroſe that antipathy (ſimilar to that of the catholics and proteſtants of the 16th century) between the Turks, who believe the former, and the Perſians, who believe the latter. A.

Omar, however, with diſintereſted reſolution, gave his own vote for Abubeker, the father of Ayeſha, and the other claimants ſoon after followed his example. Order was thus ſpeedily reſtored to the army by the union of their leaders; and the preparations for the Syrian war were renewed with enthuſiaſtic ardour. Heraclius perceived with alarm the growing power of the Arabians, and he ſtationed an army of obſervation at Gaza, to watch the motions of Abubeker's forces. Their rapid movements, however, diſconcerted his plans of warfare, and ſeveral places bordering on Syria and Meſopotamia were reduced, before he was aware of their danger. An army of Arabs at length made their appearance before the imperial forces; but the chriſtians were defeated in every encounter, and the emperor became ſeriouſly alarmed for the ſafety of Paleſtine and Syria. Boſtra, a ſtrong and rich garriſon of Syria Damaſcena, had been reduced without any oppoſition, owing to the treachery of its governor, Romanus; and the Arabian forces were now in full march to the ſiege of Damaſcus. Heraclius with difficulty reinforced the garriſon, when the Arabian forces made their appearance before that important city; and the Roman army of veteran ſoldiers, conſiſting of an hundred thouſand men, were ordered to attack, and, if poſſible, to deſtroy, by one deciſive blow, the whole force of the Moſlems. The enthuſiaſm of the Arabs, however, carried every thing before them, and Damaſcus was not only reduced to

ſubmiſſion, but the imperial army was defeated with immenſe ſlaughter.

While the eaſtern part of Syria was experiencing the ſcourge of war, the frontier towns in the weſt were likewiſe viſited with a ſimilar evil. Gaza was beſieged by an Arabian army under the command of Amrou, a general that afterwards attained great celebrity in the annals of Egyptian hiſtory, and was reduced to the ſubjection of the Moſlems. The army oppoſed to them took refuge in Cæſarea and Jeruſalem; and the whole country, from Gaza to mount Sinai, became tributary to Abubeker.

About this period, the Caliph Abubeker paid the debt of nature, at the venerable age of 63, and in the 634th year of the chriſtian æra. By him the doctrines of the prophet were collected into a book, and received the collective title of the Koran; and by his orders, copies were tranſlated into the different languages of the ſurrounding countries, and carefully diffuſed, preparatory to their march, as a harbinger of the Moſlem arms.

OMAR

Reluctantly aſcended the throne of the Moſlems, upon the death of Abubeker; but he was no ſooner firmly eſtabliſhed in power, than he ſpread the terror of his arms throughout the nations of Syria, Perſia, Paleſtine, and Egypt. Abubeida and Kaled, two generals of diſtinguiſhed abilities, overran the whole of Syria, laid waſte the ancient kingdom of Perſia, and pene-

trated as far as Antioch, in their approach to Conſtantinople. Amrou was diſpatched to the invaſion of Paleſtine, which he completely ſubdued in the courſe of a few months, and from thence prepared to march his forces into Egypt. His rapid movements towards the Egyptian frontiers diſappointed the plans of the chriſtian army; and after gaining poſſeſſion of Farma, a formidable garriſon ſituated between Peluſium and the Red Sea, by a cloſe ſiege of one month, he experienced little interruption till he arrived at the ancient city of Memphis.

It is related by Abulfeda, the Arabian hiſtorian, that Amrou, after gaining poſſeſſion of Farma, and perceiving the ſhort diſtance between the Mediterranean and the Arabian gulph, formed the rational idea of connecting the two ſeas together by means of a canal, and actually communicated his ſentiments to the Caliph upon the ſubject. Whether an apprehenſion of the expence, or, as the hiſtorian ſtates, the probability of facilitating the entrance of the chriſtians into Arabia, might deter him, Omar diapproved of the undertaking, and the project was conſequently abandoned.

On the approach of Amrou to the ancient capital of Egypt, the Grecian ſoldiers, who compoſed the defence of the kingdom, retired within the walls of the city. Mokacus, the prefect of Egypt, had for ſome time previous to this invaſion withdrawn his allegiance from the emperor Heraclius, and had aſ-

ſumed the ſovereignty himſelf. It was therefore of importance to him, in the dilemma he then ſtood, neither to admit Amrou into Egypt, nor to ſuffer the emperor to regain poſſeſſion of the country. Memphis was, on that account, prepared for a formidable ſiege. The caſtle, which commanded the circumjacent country, and a place of conſiderable ſtrength, was ſurrounded with a deep foſſe, within and beyond which, ſpikes and other ſharp-pointed inſtruments were placed, to annoy and prevent the approach of an enemy. The Moſlem army at firſt conſiſted of only 4000 men; but it was found neceſſary to get a reinforcement of twice that number, before the city could be inveſted. A cloſe blockade of ſeven months had made no apparent impreſſion on the garriſon; and a knowledge of the implacable hatred which the Greeks bore to the Moſlems, left the army of Amrou little room to hope for the reduction of the place, before the approach of the inundation. In this predicament, the two armies ſeemed to have relaxed their reſpective exertions, when an unexpected deputation from Mokacus arrived in the Moſlem camp.

The ſituation in which the governor of Egypt had been placed by his treachery to Heraclius, has been already mentioned. By his aſſumption, he had appropriated the revenues of the kingdom to his own purpoſes; and having been long reſident in Egypt, and imbibed ſimilar ſentiments with the natives, he had ſufficient influence with the Egyptians to

preſerve his popularity unimpaired. He had hitherto obtained the reſpect of the Greek troops, on account of his military talents; but the privations to which a ſiege had now ſubjected them, excited ſuch violent murmurs againſt his conduct, that he became apprehenſive of his ſafety, and of the wealth which he had ſo lately and ſo unjuſtly acquired. To avoid the danger and diſgrace, therefore, to which he was ſo much expoſed, a confidential ſecretary was diſpatched to Amrou, for the purpoſe of knowing his intentions, and the conditions of their ſubmiſſion, in caſe they would ſurrender. While this negociation was pending, the Copts, or natives of the country, were induced to follow him to an iſland of the Nile oppoſite to the citadel, from whence he might either make his eſcape with his treaſures, (in caſe the terms of capitulation were too harſh to be acceded to); or might avoid the vengeance that awaited him from the Greeks, when his intentions of betraying them became known. Amrou, however, was too politic to overlook even the intentions of a traitor, when he found they contributed to his purpoſes; and he granted the natives and Mokacus more favorable terms than the auſtere politics of Iſlamiſm in general required. As the conditions are ſomewhat ſingular, and had likewiſe a conſiderable effect upon the ſubſequent ſtate of Egypt, no apology need be requiſite in ſubjoining them.

I. The Coptic boys not arrived at the years of puberty, the men worn out with old age, and all the women,

ſhall be exempted from the payment of the annual tribute to be impoſed upon all the other individuals of the Coptic empire.

II. All the Copts, except thoſe above-mentioned, that live both above and below Memphis, (or, according to the ancient name, Al Mezr) ſhall pay yearly two dinars each, without any difference or diſtinction; no regard being paid to the circumſtances of the perſons of whom the money is to be exacted.

III. The Copts ſhall entertain all the Moſlems that ſhall occaſionally paſs through the country, for three days together, if required, at their own expence.

IV. The Copts ſhall ſupply, for ready money, with proviſions, the Moſlem camp; repair two bridges that have been broken down; build others that are neceſſary for the more expeditious march of the army; and render the roads more convenient between the city of Al Mezr and El Eſcandaraiath, or Alexandria, which the Moſlem general has an intention ſoon to beſiege.

V. The Moſlems ſhall be at liberty to continue the war againſt the Greeks, who deſerve the moſt rigorous treatment, till they have either reduced them to a ſtate of ſlavery, or purſued them to utter deſtruction.

VI. Mokacus himſelf ſhall always be conſidered as a Copt by the Moſlems; and, after his death, his body ſhall be interred by the Caliph's permiſſion, in the Coptic church of Alexandria.

VII. In conſideration of the foregoing conceſſions, the Caliph ſhall alſo ſecure to Mokacus, and the Copts, the free exerciſe of their religion, as well as the poſſeſſion of their properties and effects, and take all of them under his immediate protection.

We may perceive, from the conditions of this treaty, the paſſive diſpoſitions of the Egyptian people; and that ſo long as they enjoyed the poſſeſſion of their property, and the free exerciſe of their religion, they paid little attention to political rights or national independence. A line of diſtinction, it appears, was drawn betwixt the Copts (or natives) and people of other nations reſident in Egypt—a diſtinction which has continued to exiſt from the time of Amrou till the preſent period.

The effect which the terms of the capitulation produced, was ſuch as might be expected. The Greeks, as they were not included in the ſame treaty, refuſed to accept of any conditions; and after the continuance of the ſiege for a few days, the citadel of Memphis was ſtormed, and every ſoldier who had not previouſly eſcaped was put to the ſword. The contiguity of the caſtle, however, to the Nile, enabled the moſt of the Grecians who compoſed its defence to eſcape to the oppoſite banks of the river, from whence they were ſtill determined to make a deſperate reſiſtance. Amrou, therefore, after arranging the affairs of Memphis, receiving reinforcements, and other neceſſaries, marched northward to the attack of the remaining Greeks, who were poſted at a ſhort diſtance from Alexandria. Both armies being animated by a mutual reſentment againſt each other, (the Greeks, on account of being ill treated at Memphis, and becauſe the Arabs had favoured the traitors who betray-

ed them; and the Moſlems, on account of the loſſes which they ſuſtained from the Greeks at the ſiege) were determined upon a deciſive engagement. The battle was conſequently dreadful: it continued, with the intervention only of night, for three ſucceſſive days, and, during that time, was attended with a variety of ſucceſs. Freſh forces, however, arrived in the Moſlem camp; when the battle which continued for ſo long a period doubtful, was decided by the ſlow retreat of the chriſtian army. A ſtrong entrenchment ſecured them from inevitable deſtruction; from which the ſuperior force of the Arabs could with difficulty diſlodge them, after a period of nineteen days. One more poſt ſtill prevented the approach of Amrou to Alexandria---a poſt which was gained with difficulty, after a ſharp engagement, even by the whole of the Arabian army.

Forced, at length, to retreat within the walls of the Egyptian capital, the troops of Heraclius, though inferior in numbers to the Moſlems, were ſtill undiſmayed by their repeated loſſes, and were not intimidated into ſubmiſſion, from the painful proſpect of a long and dangerous ſiege. The city was no ſooner ſurrounded by the army of Amrou, and ſummoned to ſurrender, than they ſternly refuſed the uſual terms of the Moſlems, which was either to profeſs Iſlamiſm, or to pay tribute. Amrou had, indeed, a powerful enemy to contend with. The garriſon were inceſſantly ſallying upon his army; and he had the morti-

cation to find a daily reduction of his forces, without the riſk of a battle, or the honor of a victory. Goaded thus perpetually from the ſoldiers of Alexandria, the Arabian general determined at length to carry the city by ſtorm. With wonderful intrepidity, he gained poſſeſſion of the battlements ſword in hand, and had partly ſucceeded in driving their outpoſts into the city; but the tide of victory ſoon after began to change. The Greeks rallied their ſcattered forces, and in their turn defeated the Arabs. Twice the ſtandard of Iſlamiſm was taken, and twice reſtored to the hands of the Moſlems. In their third charge, their foremoſt ranks were hewn to pieces, and their general, Amrou, and many of their principal officers, were taken priſoners. Repulſed from the walls of Alexandria, and defeated with immenſe loſs, had the chriſtian army followed up their victory, the enemies of their religion, thus reduced and diſpirited, would have fallen an eaſy victim to the imperial arms. But one opportunity loſt is ſometimes never to be retrieved; and the general who foregoes the advantages to be reaped from one victory, may never be preſented with another.

Thus was the Alexandrian army ſituated. When Amrou and the other captive officers were preſented to the governor of the city, he enquired of them the motives of their unwarrantable and unprovoked invaſion, and with what plea of juſtice they could commit ſuch ravages in the territories of the emperor

Heraclius. The reply of Amrou was characteriſtic of a ferocious barbarian, but evinces likewiſe the enthuſiaſm of the Moſlems. "We are come hither," ſaid he, "to compel you either to profeſs Iſlamiſm, or pay an annual tribute to the Caliph; either of which terms you muſt ſubmit to, or be put to the ſword." The ſuſpicion of his being the Arabian general expoſed him, by this language, to the moſt imminent danger, and he eſcaped only by the dextrous impudence of his ſlave Verdan, who ſtruck him a blow on the face, and at the ſame time deſired him to be ſilent, while Eben Mokalled ſhould addreſs himſelf to the governor. The latter officer underſtood the hint, and immediately invented a ſtory, for the purpoſe of deceiving the imperial general, and procuring their releaſe. "Our general," ſaid he, "has been inclined for ſome time to raiſe the ſiege of Alexandria, and his intentions have been lately confirmed by diſpatches received from our faithful emperor, the Caliph Omar. In this letter, he intimates a deſire of ſending an embaſſy of ten perſons of the firſt diſtinction, to confer with you upon the ſubject, and to ſettle ſuch preliminary articles as may be the baſis of a treaty of future amity, and of reciprocal advantage. If you will diſmiſs us, therefore, from our captivity, we will endeavour, by a repreſentation of your generous conduct, to accelerate an accommodation; and we doubt not but, by our influence, we will tend eſſentially to facilitate the negociation."

Surprizing as it may ſeem, the governor of the city gave implicit credit to Mokalled's ſtory, and releaſed the captive officers without heſitation. The unexpected arrival of the chiefs in the Moſlem camp, infuſed a freſh ardor into their drooping ſpirits; and the Arabian forces diſcovered, by their joy, that the Alexandrians had loſt an opportunity of diſtreſſing them, which could not eaſily be regained.

The event of this deception, accompliſhed by no laudable means, was commenſurate to the intended purpoſes of the invention. The Moſlems gained a general who had formerly led them on to victory; and the Greeks diſcovered too late, that they had ſuffered an adverſary to eſcape, whoſe penetration would enable him to take advantage of their weakeſt points. A ſhort time after, indeed, the Moſlem army, inſtead of diſcovering any inclination for peace, ſeemed determined on the renewal of hoſtilities. A ſuſpicious calm was ſucceeded by a violent ſtorm; and, inſtead of a negociation, the Arabs made an univerſal and deſperate aſſault upon the citadel. Hiſtorians diſagree reſpecting the termination of this ſecond attack. Abulfeda relates, that the caſtle and city were ſurrendered upon certain conditions; whereas Al Makin and Eutychius agree in their accounts of the citadel being taken by ſtorm, and that thoſe who were found in the garriſon were either killed or taken priſoners. It has been univerſally granted, that at this period (in the year 642, a ſhort time after the death

of Heraclius) Alexandria was ſubjected to the power of the Arabs, after a cloſe ſiege of fourteen months, and after experiencing the dreadful loſs of 23,000 men.

Whether Alexandria, however, was taken poſſeſſion of by force, or by ſurrender, the principal part of the Greek ſoldiers who defended the walls had previouſly retired from the city. A formidable fleet at that time in the harbour, received the greateſt part of the army, and the remainder occupied the faſtneſſes in the deſart ſouth of the capital. The object of this diviſion of their force ſeems evidently to have ariſen from the hope of reſcuing Alexandria, and retrieving their affairs, in the event of Amrou purſuing the ſmall army in the deſart of Nitria, and leaving the city weak and unprovided for a ſecond ſiege. The reſult ſhowed how ingeniouſly they had calculated. The Moſlem army had no ſooner arranged the affairs of Alexandria, than they directed their march againſt the remaining forces of the Greeks. Amrou was ſufficiently acquainted with the abilities of the veteran troops he had to contend with, and he imagined that an army, however ſmall, of enterprizing ſoldiers, might derange his new-modelled government, and wreſt his Egyptian laurels from his brow. In this new expedition he was no doubt ſucceſsful, though no author has mentioned its termination. But his attention was ſpeedily directed to another quarter, from which he had not been ſufficiently aware of danger. The Grecian army, which had embarked

on board the Egyptian fleet, returned to the capital, and, being well apprized of its feeble ſituation, retook poſſeſſion of the city, and retaliated the cruelty of the Moſlems, by putting all the Arabs who were found in arms to the ſword. This gleam of returning fortune was but of ſhort duration. Amrou performed a rapid movement of his army, and, before the Greeks had ſufficiently prepared to defend themſelves, he approached Alexandria. A ſhort, but deſperate conflict, ſealed the fate of Egypt; and the enraged Arabs ſcaled the battlements of the city with ſuch fury, that the broken remains of the imperial army were compelled again, with great loſs, to take ſhelter in their fleets.

Such was the final iſſue of the ſtruggle which was to determine the power that ſhould in future govern Egypt. Every oppoſition to the will of the conqueror was now ſubdued; and Amrou diſpatched a meſſenger to Omar, to conſult whether or not the capital, which had been conquered a ſecond time by aſſault, ſhould be given up to plunder, according to the laws of war. The caliph replied to this requiſition in terms of great diſapprobation. His policy was, however, ſelfiſh; for though he loved his troops, and would have made great ſacrifices to reward them, the riches of Alexandria were ſo immenſe, as to have excited in him either motives of future ambition, or hopes of remuneration for paſt expence. Alexandria was, at this period, the celebrated emporium of

commerce for the productions of Europe and Asia; and the wealth of ages had been collected in the precincts, and within the walls of the Egyptian capital. In the letter which Amrou wrote to his sovereign, respecting the riches of Alexandria, he enumerates the following particulars:—"Besides the many curious and valuable objects," says he, "which I forbear giving a minute description of, the city of the west contains 4,000 palaces, 4,000 baths, 40,000 Jews who pay tribute, 4,000 royal circi, or places set apart for public diversion, and 12,000 gardeners, who supply the city with vegetables in abundance." Abulfeda relates, that this elegant metropolis, when taken by the Arabs, might properly be said to contain three superb cities; of which the Pharos formed one; the Necropolis of Strabo, where so many ruins are at present to be found, was a second; and the city which is confined within its present walls, made a third; all of which were united into one magnificent whole, and computed within its bosom 900,000 inhabitants. It was prudence, rather than principle, therefore, which actuated the caliph to restrain the soldiery from an indiscriminate spoliage. His orders to his general, Amrou, on the subject, are determined and explicit, "I am gratefully sensible," says Omar, "of the great services and the undaunted bravery of the troops; but to plunder so rich a city, is contrary to my inclination, and the bare proposal of which even deserves my censure. The rapacious disposition

of the Moſlems is injurious to the diſcipline of our armies, and muſt be reſtrained within proper limits. You will, on no account, ſuffer the ſmalleſt violence to be permitted; and with reſpect to the tribute to be exacted, you will carefully depoſit it, along with the treaſures found in Alexandria, in a place of ſafety near to that city, from which my wants and thoſe of the army may be ſupplied."—The mode of taxation adopted on the conqueſt of Egypt by the Caliph, was principally confined to perſons and lands. The Copts, or natives, were each ſubjected to the payment of two dinars, whereas foreigners reſident in the country were liable to a double aſſeſſment, or ſomething more; and lands and vineyards in cultivation, were taxed in a certain proportion to the height of the inundation and their probable produce.

The mode of government now in Egypt was ſimilar to that which preceded it, arbitrary; and the execution of juſtice and of the laws was unreſervedly committed to the power of Amrou. The influence, however, which he poſſeſſed among the native Egyptians, by the affability of his manners and the indulgencies which he gave them, ſecured his power more effectually in the country than by meaſures of a coercive nature. His courteous behaviour to the learned men of Alexandria has been extolled by the panegyriſts of his character; and it is ſaid, that, from the eſteem which he entertained for John the philoſopher, ſurnamed the grammarian, Amrou was induced to

petition Omar, in order to obtain the gift of the famous Alexandrian library to preſent him with.

The caliph was, like the generality of his countrymen, at this period ignorant of literature and of the arts; and whether he was acquainted with the value of the library which his general requeſted, is a queſtion of a very problematical nature. It appears, however, that Amrou was a man of profound capacity, and being much pleaſed with the converſation of learned men, it is not likely he would heſitate to confer favors among his literary friends, when the inconſiderable value of the gift (ſuch as books then appeared to the Moſlems) is conſidered. But hiſtorians have informed us, with much regret, that the furious Omar, in reply to Amrou's letter, ordered the library to be carefully examined, and "if the books he mentioned were found to contain ſentiments congenial to the doctrines of the Koran, their preſervation was unimportant, as the book of the Prophet was perfect without them; but, on the contrary, if they were repugnant to its principles, their deſtruction was abſolutely neceſſary." Such is ſaid by Abulfarage, an author who lived 600 years after this period, to have been the *fiat* of the caliph reſpecting the nobleſt monument of induſtry and of literature then in the world. Amrou, in fulfilling his maſter's injunctions, (continues the ſame author) was obliged to ſacrifice this famous depoſitory of ſcience; and he ordered the books to be diſtributed among the keepers of the

baths, which at that time amounted to 4,000, in order that their deſtruction might at the ſame time be rendered uſeful in heating the water. In this work of devaſtation, ſix months are ſaid to have been employed before this immenſe collection of books were totally deſtroyed.

Our readers will, no doubt, recollect the circumſtances of this literary foundation under the reign of Ptolemy Soter; its increaſe under his ſon, Philadelphus; and the unrivalled ſplendor which it had attained under the reign of Cleopatra. A diviſion of this muſæum, which had been conveyed to the temple of Serapis, was happily preſerved during the conflagration of the Bruchion library, in the war with Julius Cæſar: but the induſtry of the laſt queen of Egypt, and the munificence of Anthony, redeemed, in ſome meaſure, the Serapian library from the loſs which the former had ſuſtained; and, till the time of the caliphs, the collection had increaſed to the amount of upwards of 600,000 volumes. At this period, the library of Alexandria may have been deſtroyed, according to the orders of Omar given to Amrou; but the ſilence of cotemporary hiſtorians has given riſe to many plauſible doubts upon the ſubject,---doubts which have acquired a degree of credit and conſiſtency from the nervous records of Gibbon, and the learned diſcernment of the ingenious Drake.*

* See Drake's "Literary Hours;" an important and ingenious publication, which merits the attention of every man of taſte. A.

Upon the ſubject of the Alexandrian library, the former very pertinently obſerves, that "every ſcholar, ſince the dynaſties of Abulfaragius, has deplored with pious indignation, the irreparable ſhipwreck of the learning, the arts, and the genius of antiquity. For my own part, (ſays Gibbon) I am ſtrongly tempted to deny both the fact and the conſequences. The fact is indeed marvellous: 'Read and wonder!' ſays the hiſtorian himſelf: and the ſolitary report of a ſtranger, who wrote at the end of 600 years on the confines of Media, is overbalanced by the ſilence of two annaliſts of a more early date, both chriſtians, both natives of Egypt, and the moſt ancient of whom, the patriarch Eutychius, has amply deſcribed the conqueſt of Alexandria. The rigid ſentence of Omar is repugnant to the ſound and orthodox precept of the Mahometan caſuiſts: they expreſsly declare, that the religious books of the Jews and Chriſtians, which are acquired by the right of war, ſhould never be committed to the flames; and that the works of profane ſcience, hiſtorians or poets, phyſicians or philoſophers, may be lawfully applied to the uſe of the faithful." The reaſoning of the latter author is equally appropriate, and both would ſeem to carry an authority which renders the account of the conflagration a ſubject of great doubt. "What tends ſtrongly to prove (ſays Drake) that the deſtruction of theſe volumes by fire did not take place, is, the vaſt treaſure of antiquity yet remaining with us. To

aſcertain, however, the truth or falſehood of this relation, and alſo what we have ſuffered through the depredations of time, ignorance and bigotry, and what quantity of ancient literature we ſtill enjoy, it will be neceſſary to appeal to ſome celebrated critic, who lived at a period when Grecian and Roman literature were yet entire." In the records of Quintilian, the learned Roman, Dr. Drake, has adduced a long enumeration of works on poetry, hiſtory, oratory, and philoſophy; and in the comparative eſtimate of what is loſt and gained, he concludes by obſerving, that "the deprivations we have ſuffered have been occaſioned by ignorance, negligence, and intemperate zeal, operating uniformly through centuries, and not through the medium of either concerted or accidental conflagration." To conclude, however, this intereſting queſtion, it may be obſerved, that a partial deſtruction of the moſt objectionable manuſcripts on the chriſtian dogmas then prevalent might have occurred; and what had given riſe to the opinion, may have its foundation in the officious zeal of the proſcribed ſectaries.

In ſecuring the allegiance of the people of Egypt, Amrou obſerved the uſual policy of a conqueror. He puniſhed with ſeverity every ſymptom of diſaffection, and held out the allurements of rewards and promiſes, in order to inſure peace, and perpetuate his power. To prevent the hopes of the Greeks or Romans retaining poſſeſſion of any tenable poſition,

he levelled every garriſon in Egypt, and razed the citadels of Alexandria and Memphis to their foundations. With regard to the latter city, either he or Omar ſeems to have retained a peculiar diſlike; for it was ſoon after the conqueſt of Egypt entirely demoliſhed, and the city of Al Foſtat, (or more properly Al Cairo) was built with its ruins on the oppoſite bank of the Nile. The motives which regulated the actions of the Arabs, at this period of their hiſtory, are not eaſily defined. Religion and ambition were their principal and moſt obvious characteriſtics; but policy, avarice, and ſometimes the vanity of being brave and generous above all other men, appear frequently to have governed their conduct. The building of a new capital in the centre of Egypt, on the eaſtern ſide of the Nile, while the ancient and formidable city of Memphis was ſtill ſtanding, may appear to our judgments either futile or impolitic; and nothing but a capricious animoſity to a city, before which he had loſt a great number of men, could have ſuggeſted the undertaking. It will be obſerved, however, that the active mind of Amrou was feelingly alive to every means of improving his conqueſts, and of ameliorating the condition of the lower ranks of ſociety. The canal betwixt the Nile and the Red Sea, which had been neglected ſince the time of Trajan, was opened under his direction, and the new capital of Cairo might be therefore intended as a neceſſary depot, in their communications to and from Arabia.

The attention of Amrou to the agriculture and improvements of Egypt, was ſoon experimentally felt throughout the whole extent of Arabia. A famine, which had made its appearance in different diſtricts, began to ſhew itſelf at Medina; and the caliph was at length compelled to apply to his general in Egypt, for a ſupply of corn and other neceſſaries. For the ſake of expedition, a multitude of camels were employed by Amrou, in relieving the diſtreſſes of his countrymen; but ſo many were found neceſſary to ſupply their wants, that El Makin relates an uninterrupted line of thoſe ſerviceable animals were employed every day, which occupied the whole road from Cairo to Medina. Excuſing the figurative language of an Arabian author, the utility which Egypt was found to be of to Arabia, may not have been an improbable reaſon why the famous canal was reſtored to its former uſe. It appears, however, this inland navigation was ſoon after filled up, and diſcontinued as a work of inconſiderable utility: but the cauſe is more probable, as D'Anville relates, becauſe they imagined the Grecian fleets might have explored a paſſage to the holy cities of Arabia.*

* The attachment which the Arabs always paid to their native country, may be properly compared to the patriotic feelings of the modern Swiſs. That attachment rather increaſed, than otherwiſe, after the time of Mahomet; and in all their conqueſts and expeditions, even at a great diſtance from home, every Arabian continued to hold his country in the firſt eſtimation. Hence aroſe

Though the conqueſt of Egypt was now effectually completed, Amrou foreſaw the probability of the peace of the country being frequently diſturbed, while the imperial ſoldiers occupied the faſtneſſes of the deſart, and the garriſoned towns upon the frontiers. After he had, therefore, adjuſted the affairs of Alexandria, he directed his arms to the weſtward, ſecured the allegiance of the wandering tribes, and marched to the confines of the Carthaginian domains. Without much oppoſition, he obtained the purpoſe of his expedition; reduced the people of that inhoſpitable climate to the Moſlem power, exacted a tribute from them as the annual ſignal of their obedience, and returned in triumph, with his army, to the capital of Egypt.

In comparing the numerous records of the hiſtory of the conqueſt of Egypt, Gibbon has, perhaps, juſtly obſerved, that "our reaſon may be occaſionally ſtartled by their extravagant aſſertions." Speaking of the population of the country, it has been magnified into the huge number of twenty-ſeven millions, and depreſſed into the ſcanty compaſs of three. In theſe oppoſite calculations, we can ſcarcely obſerve a middle courſe; and without the direction of authority, no hiſtorian ought to advance his own conjectures as a fact. As the graveſt authors, however, have aſſerted, that 20,000 cities or towns were num-

their ſolicitude for its particular protection, ſo as to induce the ſacrifice of other meaner conſiderations. A.

bered throughout the wide extent of the kingdom; and as the Conſul Maillet corroborates theſe aſſertions, by ſtating 2 or 3000 as the general opinion, at that time, of the average population of a great number of theſe villages; it might ſeem, from this data, to countenance the different ſtatements of the great population of Egypt at this period of our hiſtory. Eutychius may be correct, therefore, in ſtating, that the Arabian general found, on the aſſeſſment of the kingdom, no leſs than ſix millions of tributary Copts, excluſive of the reſident Greeks and Arabs. The mighty difference between thoſe times and the preſent, muſt excite our aſtoniſhment and our regret.

Various are the fables which are related reſpecting the converſion of many of the Egyptians to the profeſſion of Iſlamiſm. That of the moſt importance, and which claims our attention, is, the means which Amrou made uſe of, in the firſt year of his conqueſt, to calm the apprehenſions of the multitude reſpecting the inundation. It had been cuſtomary to ſacrifice a virgin to the deity of the Nile, and the authority of the conqueror having interdicted that barbarous inſtitution, he ſubſtituted a *miracle*, equally efficacious, and the reſult of which gained him many proſelytes among the ſuperſtitious Copts. The mandate of the caliph was thrown into the ſullen ſtream, and, wonderous to behold! it aroſe the following night to the height of 16 cubits. An accurate obſerver may eaſily perceive, however, the phyſical cauſes of the

ſwelling of a river; and to the merit of Amrou's penetration may be aſcribed the fortunate iſſue of his attempt at the *marvellous*.

With reſpect to the further proceedings of Amrou during the reign of Omar, we have nothing additional to relate. His conduct, by all hiſtorians, was allowed to have been equally agreeable to his ſovereign, as it was grateful to the Egyptians. As an eulogiſt, the beſt compliment we can pay to his memory is, that he was a faithful ſervant of his prince, a beloved general among his ſoldiers, and a popular governor over the diſtricts he commanded. The character he ſupported in private life was equally praiſeworthy; and, as a man of probity, his word was never doubted, his integrity was never impeached.

To this ſhort detail of the virtues of Amrou, we ſhall conclude the events of this reign, by tranſcribing Gibbon's elegant tranſlation of his letter to the caliph, containing a ſhort, though deſcriptive picture, of the ſtate of Egypt. "O, commander of the faithful! (ſays Amrou) Egypt is a compound of black earth and green plants, between a pulveriſed mountain and a red ſand. The diſtance from Syene to the ſea is a month's journey for any horſeman. Along the valley deſcends a river, on which the bleſſing of the Moſt High repoſes both in the evening and in the morning, and which riſes and falls with the revolutions of the ſun and moon. When the annual diſpenſation of Providence unlocks the ſprings and fountains that

nouriſh the earth, the Nile rolls its ſwelling and ſounding waters through the realm of Egypt: the fields are overſpread by the ſalutary flood; and the villages communicate with each other in their painted barks. The retreat of the inundation depoſits a fertilizing mud for the reception of the various ſeeds: the crowds of huſbandmen, who blacken the land, may be compared to a ſwarm of induſtrious ants; and their native indolence is quickened by the laſh of the taſk-maſter, and the promiſe of the flowers and fruits of a plentiful increaſe. Their hopes are ſeldom deceived; but the riches which they extract from the wheat, the barley, and the rice; the legumes, the fruit trees, and the cattle; are unequally ſhared between thoſe who labour, and thoſe who poſſeſs. According to the viciſſitudes of the ſeaſons, the face of the country is adorned with a ſilver wave, a verdant emerald, and the deep yellow of a golden harveſt.

The tranſactions of Amrou in Egypt, which we have curſorily deſcribed, may be dated about the concluſion of Omar's reign.—In the courſe of ten years, the Saracen empire was extended to the borders of India in the eaſt, the gates of Conſtantinople in the north, the furtheſt boundary of the kingdom of Barca in the weſt, and all oppoſition of the Chriſtians and Jews was extinguiſhed in the Arabian peninſula. Such were the events of the arms of Omar, betwixt the 634th and 644th years of the chriſtian æra, the concluſion to which was crowned by the conqueſts of his

general, Amrou. His career of glory was, however, arrested, for in the 23d of the Hegira he was aſſaſſinated by a Perſian ſlave, while he was performing his morning devotions in the moſque at Medina.

OTHMAN

Was elected by the chiefs of the Arabs as the ſucceſſor to the caliphate. Like his predeceſſor, he was paſſionately fond of war; but having an uncommon predilection to his own family and friends, in giving them the preference to all public employments, to the excluſion of men of talents, he was, on that account, not ſo fortunate in his expeditions, nor ſo popular in his government. The Perſians, indeed, who had not been altogether ſubdued during Omar's reign, were by one ſignal defeat completely overthrown; but his ſucceſs in the weſt, in ſecuring thoſe victories which had been previouſly obtained, was by no means correſponding to the ſtate of affairs in the eaſt.

Amrou, whoſe abilities had conquered, and whoſe manners had conciliated the Egyptians, was recalled from his government, and Abdalla, who had no merit to recommend him but his relationſhip to the caliph, was appointed in his ſtead. Such an arrangement was ſoon perceived to be injudicious and impolitic.—The conduct of Amrou was affable, generous, and upright; he had ſtudied the cuſtoms and conſtitution of the country, and had adminiſtered juſtice with promptitude and integrity; he had likewiſe ameli-

rated the grievances of the people, given encouragement to commerce and the arts, and had promoted the cultivation and improvements of the kingdom. To these excellent qualities may be added the natural tie of justice and of gratitude; and that as Amrou had conquered, he was best enabled, and more entitled, to govern than another. But these considerations, however trivial they might appear to Othman, acquired considerable importance, when the difference in Abdalla's character began to be felt and understood.

The character of the Egyptians, at this period, was that of an indolent, proud, and seditious people. Whether they merited these appellations, we have not sufficient facts on record to judge; but it is evident that the manners and character of a people may be moulded into any particular shape, by the circumstances or form of its government. As it is related, therefore, that Amrou possessed the confidence of the people, and that the æra of his residence in Egypt was tranquil and happy, we may justly infer, that the conduct of Abdalla formed a striking contrast to that of his predecessor; as his reign became so unpopular, after his elevation to the government of Egypt, that commotions and insurrections prevailed in every quarter of the realm.

The spirit and warlike genius of the imperial court was roused once again into action, on this display of the distractions throughout their former provinces.

Secret emiſſaries were paſſing and repaſſing between Egypt and Conſtantinople, and a formidable army was ſpeedily embarked on the Thracian Boſphorus, to reconquer that country which they had ſo well defended. Abdalla was confounded on the appearance of a Grecian army, particularly as he found how little confidence could be placed upon the people he governed. Alexandria was abandoned without a ſtruggle, and the chiefs of the Saracen empire were ſo panic-ſtruck at Medina, that they imagined the power of Iſlamiſm was completely at an end. Othman, however, in time ſaw the error of his government, when Amrou was immediately reſtored to his confidence, and to the command of an army of veteran ſoldiers. The character of this brave chief effectually diſſipated the fears which the Moſlems at firſt entertained reſpecting hoſtilities in Egypt. Confidence was even reſtored to thoſe native Egyptians who had ſtood aloof during the æra of Abdalla's unpopular government, and they flocked to the ſtandard of Amrou, to aſſiſt in the expulſion of the Grecian army, which had nearly overrun the whole of Lower Egypt. Mocacus and his Coptic followers were the moſt aſſiduous friends of the Arabs, as their property and their exiſtence depended ſolely on the ſucceſs of their arms. With their aſſiſtance, and the reſources they procured in the country, the imperial army was driven within the walls of Alexandria; but Amrou was again ſubjected to the neceſſity of undertaking ano-

ther siege. The powerful and the unexpected resistance which was indeed experienced from the defeated army, gave the Arabian chief so much uneasiness, that he swore, in the heat of his resentment, that, if he was victorious, he would render the city of the west as accessible as a "common brothel," and lay it open on every side.

This threat, so inadvertently made, was literally put soon into execution. The Saracens, inflamed by opposition, scaled the walls with an impetuous fury, and drove the Grecian soldiers, sword in hand, into the interior of the city. Every man who was found in arms, as well as every citizen, were butchered with unrelenting barbarity, and it was with difficulty that the interposition of Amrou himself could restrain their fury. He, however, checked their inhuman career in the most populous part of the city, and in order to impress the public mind in his favor, he commemorated the event, by erecting a mosque on the spot where the massacre was concluded, which he called the "Mosque of Mercy." The remnant of the Grecian army, under the command of Manuel, escaped with great difficulty; though it is related that Amrou prevented a pursuit, in order to enable the remainder who escaped the massacre, to embark on board their ships. The capital of Egypt, which was formerly considered a place of the greatest strength, was ordered to be dismantled, and rendered completely defenceless for another siege. The forts

and ramparts, which had been partly demoliſhed by Amrou before, were now entirely deſtroyed; ſo that thoſe numerous and extenſive ruins, which are obſerved by modern travellers to be the veſtiges of ancient Alexandria, are in reality the ſuburbs and fortifications of that immenſe city, and may enable us to form a ſmall idea of its original ſplendor.

Egypt being thus again in the power of the Moſlems, after a ſtruggle of about a year, Amrou reſtored the former regime, and re-eſtabliſhed his power upon the ſame principles as before. Various expeditions were ſoon after this event planned, and partly put into execution. The conqueſt of Tripoli, Carthage, and the weſtern parts of the ſea-coaſt of Africa, were accompliſhed about this period; but hiſtorians diſagree reſpecting the names of thoſe generals who conducted their armies. Moavias, the governor of Syria, began to equip a fleet, in order to contend with the imperial power on the ocean, and he ſoon rendered his armament formidable to the Greeks on that element. Cyprus and Rhodes were ſucceſſively ſubdued by his arms; but the former was retaken, after being poſſeſſed by the Moſlems only two years. The power of the Moſlems, however, was every day increaſing; but the conduct of the caliph, Othman, who adopted few precautions to conciliate their eſteem, produced, at this time, many diſtractions throughout the empire. Amrou was recalled from Egypt, and Abdalla, his relation, was reinſtated in

that office which he formerly ſo unworthily held. This circumſtance accompliſhed his ruin. Their former fears of an invaſion in that quarter from the Greeks, inſpired the whole Arabian nation with an unuſual indignation againſt their chief. His deſtruction was meditated by different parties; his own ſecretary conſpired againſt him, and he at length loſt his life in the midſt of a ſedition at Medina, after a reign of twelve years, in the 82d year of his age.

ALI,

The venerable couſin of their prophet Mahomet, who had long expected to fill the chair of the caliph, was at length raiſed to that diſtinguiſhed office in the 35th year of the Hegira, and 655th of our æra. He was formally inaugurated in the moſque of Medina; but thoſe enemies who had formerly prevented his election, under the alledged pretence of being a ſeceder from the true faith, now caballed for his deſtruction, and at length produced a civil war. Moavias, the leader of the diſaffected, and chief of the family of Omiya, was the firſt who declared againſt him. An army was ſpeedily raiſed under his command in Syria, while another, not much inferior, was collected by Ayeſha, the favourite wife of Mahomet, and his party, in the very centre of Arabia. Amid this diſtracted ſtate of affairs, Ali removed thoſe governors from their reſpective provinces, who had been appointed by Othman, and replaced them by others, upon whom he had more reliance. This meaſure

had, however, a contrary effect from what he intended; as in those provinces where their commander was popular, the people were against him, and in every instance he created an enemy in the governor who had been displaced. Rebellion now raged in every quarter of the empire, but displayed itself most violently at home. The army of Ayesha, however, amounting to thirty thousand men, was the first object of the caliph's resentment. These forces which she had collected were marched from Mecca, and had already taken possession of Bosra, when his army overtook her, and prepared to conciliate their differences, or decide them by an engagement. Her animosity to Ali, however, disconcerted every pacific measure, and a battle, which was distinguished by the name of the "Battle of the Camel," ensued, wherein Ali defeated his formidable antagonist, and crushed every appearance of opposition in Arabia.

Moavias, the Syrian governor, though disconcerted by the defeat of his friends, still refused to acknowledge the caliph, and continued to increase his army and make inroads into the neighbouring countries. Ali foresaw the necessity of reducing him immediately, and therefore marched an army of seventy thousand men, to compel him to submission, or try the event of a decisive battle. Moavias, though superior to him in numbers, was not equal in abilities to the caliph's army, and therefore evaded the strength of his antagonist by cunning and treachery. Several

battles were fought without any material advantage being obtained; but the enemy of Ali took a moſt effectual method of circumventing him, by the ſtratagem of referring their diſpute to two of their friends. The famous Amrou, who undertook the arbitration on the part of Moavias, ſucceeded in perſuading the friend of Ali, that, in order to arrange their reſpective differences, both of them ſhould be in the firſt place depoſed. This ſtrange meaſure was abſolutely adopted; and Abu Muſa, the friend of Ali, mounted a tribunal erected betwixt the two armies, and pronounced with a loud voice the following words: "I depoſe from the caliphate both Ali and Moavias, in the ſame manner that I now take off this ring from my finger." After he had deſcended from the roſtrum, the artful Amrou occupied his place, and, after prefacing a harangue to the people on the conduct of Ali's arbitrator, proclaimed, in the ſame manner, "That as Abu Muſa had depoſed, ſo he now conferred the caliphate upon Moavias, in the ſame manner that he put the ring upon his finger." Such was the reſult of this ridiculous convention, which determined the fate of the Saracen empire. Moavias, and his partizans, accompliſhed by treachery what they were unable to do by force; and, contrary to the character and principles of former caliphs, ſubverted oppoſition by the baſeſt and moſt deteſtable means of chicanery and fraud. The army and friends of Ali diminiſhed daily in number and conſequence; he laid aſide, from

a mixture of vexation and piety, the name and rank of a prince, and retired to Cufa, on the borders of the Euphrates, where he ſupported, by the remnant of his former power, a ſemblance of his former greatneſs.

MOAVIAS,

A man who poſſeſſed none of the great qualities of former caliphs but their ambition, after raiſing himſelf to the throne, adopted the uſual policy of a conqueror, in confirming his own power, and ſuppreſſing that of his enemies. Conciliation and coercion were equally reſorted to, as circumſtances or his own ſagacity ſuggeſted moſt proper; and when Ali was aſſaſſinated at Cufa, he not only ordered public maledictions to be pronounced in the moſque againſt his family, but ſecretly purſued the moſt unjuſtifiable meaſures of extirpating his children, both by poiſon and the ſword. The firſt ſiege of Conſtantinople was the only remarkable event of his reign, but terminating unſucceſsfully, it produced a mutinous diſpoſition in his army, which required all his talents to ſuppreſs. For twenty years he weilded the ſceptre of the Saracen empire, and was the firſt of the family of Ommiya who reigned, and which afterwards became ſo famous in Arabian hiſtory. To the influence and power which he enjoyed, may be attributed the alteration in the mode of ſucceſſion to the throne, as his eldeſt ſon, Yezid, aſſumed the reigns of government at his death, according to his appointment.

During the two preceding reigns, the affairs of

Egypt were involved in much perplexity and confusion. Upon the death of Othman, the celebrated Amrou Eben Alas was governor of the country; but after the election of Ali to the caliphate, he was removed from that diſtinguiſhed ſtation. The cauſe of this removal being a ſuſpicion of his integrity, Amrou felt highly indignant at the inſult which the orders of Ali conveyed. Without remonſtrance or reſiſtance, he retired into Paleſtine; but on the appearance of ſuch a formidable defection from Ali's authority as Moavias, he was eaſily perſuaded to enter into his views, upon the pretence of revenging the death of Othman. The reſult of that connection, ſo little to Amrou's reputation, we have already detailed. The reward of his ſervices, however, was the uncontrolled dominion over Egypt,—a conqueſt which was obtained by means no way creditable either to himſelf or to Moavias.

Saad Eben Kais, the governor appointed over Egypt in the room of Amrou, was a man of conſummate prudence and tried fidelity. The injurious reports circulated in the country to the diſcredit of the caliph, had created a powerful party in oppoſition to his views; and Saad, with conſiderable difficulty, reconciled them to the government of Ali. The great ability with which he adminiſtered the affairs of Egypt, ſoon reconciled them to the loſs of Amrou; and the propriety of his conduct was ſuch, that the party of Moavias had no room for diſpleaſure.

In this proſperous ſituation of the affairs of Ali in In Egypt, Moavias foreſaw that all his projects againſt him in that country would be uſeleſs, and he therefore adopted a ſecret and miſchievous plan to circumvent the unwary caliph. A report was induſtriouſly circulated over Syria, that he had ſufficient reaſon to be ſatisfied with the conduct of Saad; that his friends in Egypt would ſoon declare in his favor; and that, as the governor acted always in concert with him, they might intruſt him with their moſt important ſecrets, without the fear of his diſcloſing them. Such an injurious report againſt a man whom Ali eſteemed as his friend, was ſoon propagated with avidity. Moavias had his ſpies and concealed friends even in the court of the caliph, ſo that ſuſpicions were ſoon propagated of the miſconduct of Saad, which they attempted to prove by his moderation to Ali's enemies. The courtiers about the perſon of the caliph affected for a time to diſbelieve theſe rumours, accounting them ſlanders fomented by envy, and propagated from animoſity. Every day, however, additional circumſtances being related, the fears of Ali were at length arouſed, and in an unhappy moment he recalled the virtuous Saad from Egypt, and Mahomet, the ſon of Abubeker, was appointed in his ſtead.

The conduct of the new governor ſoon produced the effect which Moavias hoped. Mahomet adopted no conciliatory ſyſtem, like his predeceſſor Saad; but

carried all his meaſures with a high hand. The prejudices of religion and of parties were openly attacked; he created enemies of the beſt friends of the caliph; and in a ſhort time the country was embroiled in commotion and in civil war. Meaſures were in agitation by Amrou and Moavias, to invade the kingdom; but Ali, who was aware of Mahomet's imprudence, adopted immediate ſteps to reconcile the Egyptians, and Malec Shutur, a man of talents, was diſpatched to ſupercede the viceroy of Egypt. By this judicious appointment, there was little apprehenſion but tranquillity would have been eaſily reſtored. Moavias and his coadjutor, however, diſappointed theſe pacific arrangements, for Malec Shutur was poiſoned at an entertainment provided for him on the road, and he died in the houſe of the murderer the ſame evening. The fortunate iſſue of this wicked ſtratagem being ſpeedily known to Moavias, Amrou was diſpatched in haſte, with an army of 6000 cavalry, to take immediate poſſeſſion of Egypt. Ali's enemies, which had been increaſing daily ſince Mahomet's appointment, were ſecretly conſpiring againſt him in the interior, and on Amrou's approach, there was little difficulty in conquering the Egyptians. Mahomet collected a ſmall army, in order to check the progreſs of the invaders, till ſuccours could be procured: but his forces were defeated with great loſs; he himſelf was taken priſoner; and, after being cruelly ſlain, was thruſt into the carcaſe of an aſs (to

ſhew their deteſtation of him), and afterwards burnt to aſhes.---Thus did Egypt fall into the hands of Amrou by the event of a ſingle engagement, and continued under his government till the year 663, and 44th of the Hegira, which was the æra of his death. —A ſucceſſion of governors, under the immediate appointment of Moavias, continued to rule in Egypt, without claiming any notice in hiſtory; and even till the reigns of

YEZID AND MOAVIAS II.

Were expired, is there any occurrences of hiſtorical importance ſufficient to intereſt a ſingle reader.

ABDALLA,

During the civil commotions of the preceding reigns, was elected caliph by the people of Mecca, and continued for a ſeries of years to govern Arabia and Egypt.

MERWAN,

However, of the family of Ommiya, after ſubduing the various factions which diſturbed the peace of Syria, diſpatched an army into Egypt under the command of Amrou Eben Said, which effectually ſubdued the numerous partizans of Abdalla in that important country.

ABDOLMELIK,

The ſon of Merwan, ſucceeded to the government, and continued a reign of difficulty and trouble for the ſpace of twenty years.

WALED,

The eleventh caliph of the Ommiyan line, ſucceeded his father Abdolmelik in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the caliphate, in the 86th year of the Hegira, and 705th of the chriſtian æra. Though this prince poſſeſſed no extraordinary abilities either in perſon or mind, yet his reign is remarkable, on account of the rapidity and extent of the conqueſts accompliſhed under his authority. His armies paſſed the ſtraits of Gibraltar, and conquered the ſouthern provinces of Spain. In the eaſt, they ſubdued the greateſt part of the Indies upon this ſide of the Ganges; and in the north, they made themſelves maſters of Kouariſm, Tranſoxana, Turkeſtan, and a variety of provinces of inferior note. His reign occupied a period of ten years; and, at his death, his brother

SOLIMAN

Aſcended the throne.---Though fond of war, Soliman, on account of his attachment to virtue and the welfare of his ſubjects, was ſignalized with the ſirname of *Meſiah al Kair*, or "Chief of Goodneſs." The arms of the Arabs were conſiderably extended during his ſhort reign; and, at his death, he overlooked his brother, on account of his bad character, and nominated his couſin,

OMAR II.

To ſucceed to the throne.---Two years and a half was the duration of his reign, which was a period of happineſs to the empire, when

YEZID II.

The third ſon of Abdomelik, whom Soliman rejected, aſcended the throne. His armies in the weſt penetrated into France, while, in the eaſt, they gained ſeveral important victories againſt the Turks; but his reign continued only a year, and his brother,

HESHAM,

The fourth ſon of Abdolmelik was appointed to ſucceed him. For twenty years, this prince wielded the ſceptre and extended his arms further into Europe than any of his predeceſſors; but his general Abdalrahman having experienced a ſignal defeat, wherein the whole Saracen army was cut to pieces by the French forces under the command of Charles Martel, their career was effectually ſtopped, and their conqueſts in that quarter were wreſted from their hands.

WALED II.

The ſon of Yezid the ſecond, ſucceeded to the Caliphate on the death of Heſham. He was a prince of few abilities; but even thoſe he was poſſeſſed of, were tarniſhed, by his profligacy and groſs depravity. His reign however, was ſhort, and he died in 126th year of the Hegira and 743d of the Chriſtian æra, after a period of only fifteen months enjoyment.

YEZID III.

The ſon of Waled the Firſt, next aſcended the

throne, but he died before the expiration of ſix months; and his brother,

IBRAHIM,

Occupied his ſtation. Ibrahim's reign was, however, even ſhorter than that of his predeceſſor, for two months had ſcarcely elapſed, before

MERWAN II.

The governor of Meſopotamia, expelled him from the caliphate, and uſurped his place. Merwan was the nineteenth and laſt of the Ommiyan line; and though he ruled the empire with great prudence and ability, yet, as if Fate had determined to puniſh the whole family for his own uſurpation, a new competitor for the caliphate aroſe in the family of Abbas, by whom he was not only repeatedly defeated, but, after retiring into Egypt, loſt his life in the field of battle.

ABUL ABBAS.

Since the death of Ali, the chief ſeat of government was confined to Damaſcus, the capital of Syria. On the elevation of the Abaſſians, the metropolis of the empire was determined to be changed; and though it was in the contemplation of Abbas to fix his court in a more centrical ſtation, it remained for his ſucceſſor to fix upon a ſpot.

For the ſpace of ninety-three years we have ſeen the family of Ommiya fill ſucceſſively the Saracen throne. Their character, whether good or bad, poſſeſſed this remarkably barbarous feature, an averſion for literature and the ſciences, and the inculcation of

that ſentiment, that all books were either uſeleſs or dangerous, except the Korah. The family, however, whoſe hiſtory we are about to delineate, profeſſed principles totally different. They were ſolicitous about the real glory of their reigns; and the aſſiduity with which they cultivated literature and the arts, left poſterity ample room for praiſing their beneficence and taſte.---Abul Abbas reigned only two years, and was ſucceeded by his brother,

ABU GIAFFER ALMANZOR,

In the 136th year of the Hegira, and 754th of the chriſtian æra.

Amanzor, after ſtruggling againſt conſiderable oppoſition in Egypt and other provinces, at length eſtabliſhed his power without a ſingle competitor. In the 768th year of our æra, the reſidence of the court was removed to the eaſtern banks of the Tigris, where a city was built, and denominated *Medina tol Salem*, or "The City of Peace." Since that time, however, the title has been changed, and the common appellation has been Bogdad, from the name of a hermit, whoſe cell was in the meadow where the city was built.---After reigning for the ſpace of twenty-one years, he was ſeized with a dyſentery on a pilgrimage to Mecca, which put a period to his life.

MAHADI,

The ſon of Almanzor, was inaugurated into the caliphate on the news of his father's death, and con-

tinued an intereſting reign of ten years. Upon his death, his ſon,

HADI,

Aſcended the throne; but the period of eighteen months was only the duration of his reign, when his brother,

HAROUN-AL-RASHID,

Occupied his place.——Haroun was a man of taſte and abilities, but his glory was eclipſed by ſeveral violent outrages againſt his beſt friends. His reign, however, was on the whole tranquil and happy; his arms were victorious againſt the Greeks and the Perſians; and he had the happineſs to enjoy the friendſhip and the eſteem of the great Charlemagne, emperor of the weſt. He reigned for the ſpace of twenty-three years, and his ſon,

AL AMIN,

Was proclaimed the ſucceſſor to the caliphate. The indolence and apathy of Amin's diſpoſition, enabled his chief miniſter to have a great predominance over him in affairs of ſtate, and on that account he was often betrayed into actions which created great confuſion throughout the empire. His reign was ſhortened by the rebellion of his brother whom he had depoſed, but who, in his turn, gained the aſcendancy over him, and by which, Thaher, one of his generals, ordered him to be put to death.

MAMON,

The ſon of Haroun, was immediately inaugurated

into power; and his prudence and abilities ſoon obliterated the remembrance of his brother's death. In appointing Rizza, a man of another family, to be his colleague in the government, he created a jealouſy among his friends which had nearly proved fatal to him. But death opportunely intervened to deprive his favorite Rizza of life, and by that means ſaved the empire from civil commotion. His great attention to literature and rewarding learned men, tended much to diffuſe ſcientific knowledge over the eaſt; but his own aſſiduity and taſte, gave the Arabians a thirſt after literature, which was long after cultivated with great ſucceſs in all the different quarters of the Saracen empire.—A circumſtance of a ſingular nature occurred to Mamon, about the latter period of his reign, which is related by the Abbe Marigny, and which we think too intereſting, as well as curious, to overlook.

"In a ſhort time," ſays Marigny, "he went into Egypt on account of a letter, by which he was informed that an immenſe treaſure was hid under two columns in a place which was deſcribed to him: this information was ſent in conſequence of what had been alledged by ſome perſons of veracity, who declared, that, to their knowledge, Merwan the ſecond of that name, and the laſt caliph of the houſe of Ommiya, had cauſed ſome very ponderous cheſts to be buried in that ſpot; and that ſhortly after his death, they had again put others underground, which they

could not do so secretly as to prevent its being discovered; but that no search had been since made in that place, and therefore it was to be presumed things remained in the same condition.

"Mamon therefore went into Egypt, that he might be present at the opening of the treasure in question: he caused them to dig in the place where the two columns stood; and having worked a short time, they found several coffers, which contained a great quantity of jewels of all kinds, rich furniture, and a large quantity of money: there was one amongst the rest filled with linen, which was extremely fine. Mamon being desirous to know what it was, they took it out piece by piece, and they found it consisted of shirts, the cuffs of which were extremely foul.

"The Caliph, surprised at such a sight, asked if no person could be found to tell him the reason of it; and soon, an old officer, whose father had served under Merwan, appeared, and gave him the information he desired. He told Mamon, that Merwan, who was extremely voracious, was very fond of lamb, and above all loved the kidney, and therefore a whole roasted lamb was, by his order, often brought to his table; that so soon as it was set down, the Caliph used to wrap up his hand in the sleeve of his shirt, and plunge his arm into the body of the lamb, to tear out the kidney, which he eat immediately; that he then put on another shirt, and that the foul linen was laid by to be no more used, which had

occaſioned the heap they found, and which actually amounted to ten thouſand ſhirts.

"Mamon, who was before ignorant of this anecdote, was amazed at ſuch a piece of ſingularity: he applied all the money, jewels and furniture, to his own uſe. As to the linen, he made a preſent of it to the officer who had acquainted him with Merwan's manner of living."

What is moſt remarkable in the reign of Mamon, was his extraordinary zeal in introducing the arts and ſciences into his empire, which had been for ages in the excluſive poſſeſſion of the Grecian philoſophers. The knowledge of medicine, phyſics, morality, metaphyſics, aſtronomy, and the mathematics, were not only introduced, by the encouragement he gave to the learned men of Greece, and the foundation of public ſchools and academies in all the principal cities, but by the indefatigable example with which he himſelf proſecuted the moſt abſtruſe ſubjects of the ſciences. During a reign of twenty years, moſt of which was free from any war or general commotion, the public mind was naturally diſpoſed to encourage thoſe learned purſuits, in which Mamon had ſhewn ſo bright an example. But in the dawn of learning, when the human mind is naturally warped with its old prejudices and dogmas of religion, the deductions of philoſophy are apt to be puerile and inſignificant. Diſputes therefore aroſe.

among the Arabs, concerning the ſubtilties of the logic and metaphyſics of Ariſtotle, which terminated in numerous diviſions of opinion, that in time became ſo many ſectaries among the followers of Mahomet. The ſubjects of theſe diſputes are almoſt too ridiculous to be mentioned, and were it not that ſucceſſive ages had witneſſed the moſt important conſequences ariſing from their operation, they would otherwiſe be unworthy of notice. Without entering minutely into their nature and tendency, it may be neceſſary to mention the leading features of the various diſcuſſions. They principally conſiſted of—Whether ſuch men as profeſſed Iſlamiſm, and committed the greateſt enormities, ought to be deemed among the faithful? Whether the attributes of the deity were diſtinct from his eſſence? Whether God knew through the medium of his knowledge or his eſſence? If what he did for man was always the moſt expedient for them? If the Koran was eternal and uncreated? Did ſin deſtroy faith? Could virtue ſubſiſt without works? &c. But the doctrine of the Motazeli, which held that the attributes of God were the ſame as his eſſence, that the Koran was created, that none were of the faithful who committed great ſins, and that God left mankind to their own free will, being the religion of the Caliph and his court, the preponderance was of courſe in that direction. Mamon, who was himſelf of a moderate

turn of mind, to prevent violent diſſentions in his empire, tolerated all the different ſects, and peace was the conſequence of his moderation. Other events, however, in poſterior reigns, were the reſult of theſe religious diſcuſſions, to which period a deſcription of their conſequences may be referred.

MOTASSEM

Succeeded, with whom the glory of his family expired. The hiſtorian laments that at the very time when the revival of learning magnified his expectations, the writers ſhould be ſilent on the events which would moſt abundantly ſatisfy his curioſity. The truth is, that the Greeks of that age were little diſpoſed to ſpeak of their own defeats, and the Perſian and Arabian authors have been, in a great meaſure, loſt to the European reader, from the obſcurity of the language, and from the difficulty of procuring acceſs to the few copies which the laborious ſtudent has preſerved. Some feeble light is, however, afforded by which we diſcern the cauſes of the decay of the power of the Caliphat, and of the revolutions of Egypt in the tenth century, which led to the eſtabliſhment of the Fatemite dynaſty on the luxuriant ſhores of the Nile.

Theophilus, the ſon of Michael the ſtammerer, was one of the moſt heroic princes of the throne of Conſtantinople; he levelled the birth place of Motaſſem with the ground, and thus excited the indignation of this powerful Caliph. Amorium was the place of

nativity of the father of Theophilus; it was ſituated in Phrygia, and the original ſeat of the imperial family had been decorated with extraordinary magnificence. Motaſſem commanded in perſon the attack; he had vowed its deſtruction, and accompliſhed his oath with unrelenting vigour.—Thirty thouſand Chriſtians fell in battle, and thirty thouſand priſoners were taken, who were treated as the moſt atrocious criminals. "To a point of honor," ſays the eloquent hiſtorian, "Motaſſem had ſacrificed a flouriſhing city, two hundred thouſand lives, and the property of millions. The ſame Caliph deſcended from his horſe, and dirtied his robe to relieve the diſtreſſes of a decrepit old man, who, with his laden aſs, had tumbled into a ditch. On which of theſe actions did he reflect with the moſt pleaſure, when he was ſummoned by the angel of death*?"

Four Caliphs ſucceeded — Vatek Billa, Mothavakel, Moſtanſer, and Moſtain; during whoſe reigns no tranſaction reſpecting Egypt deſerves to be recorded. Yet the ſecret cauſes which led to the diſmemberment of the Empire were proceed-

* This prince acquired the name of the Octonary from a ſingular coincidence in his hiſtory: he obtained *eight* ſignal victories over the enemies of the Koran; he was the *eight* of the Abbaſſides; he reigned *eight* years, *eight* months, and *eight* days; left *eight* ſons, *eight* daughters, *eight* thouſand ſlaves, and *eight* millions of gold.

ing, and in the 254 of the Hegira, and 868 of the Chriſtian era, when

MOTAZ

Suſtained the ſacred honors, the Turkiſh ſlaves of the race of Toulun obtained an independent throne in Egypt.

During the laſt thirty years the Caliphs had purſued the erroneous maxims of Juſtinian in his declining years, by admitting the martial and athletic barbarian into his capital, and the followers of Zoroaſter, incorporating with the nation to which they were invited, became the adherents of the Arabian Prophet. In conſequence of the influence they acquired in the palace, they were appointed to provincial command, and they employed the authority they obtained, to the injury of the maſters by whom it was repoſed. Under the Toulunides Egypt continued during the Caliphats Molhadi and Motamed; but in the time of

MOCTASI

It was recovered to that prince, in the 292 year of the Hegira, and the 903 of the Chriſtian epoch. The ſovereign was indebted for this valuable acquiſition to the valour of his general Mahomet; but about four years poſterior to this event, the celebrated ſchiſm broke out between the Caliphs of Bagdad, which led to the defection of Abu Mohammed Obeida'llah, and terminated in the final ſeparation of the Egyptian province. This prince was the

founder of the Fatemite race, to which we have referred; he conquered an extenſive diſtrict of Africa, in the year 910, and eſtabliſhed his capital at Tunis. His further projects of ambition were diſappointed in the year 933, and in the Caliphat of

RHADI,

Who ſucceeded Moctader and Kaher on the Saracenic throne.

At this time Mahomet, the ſon of Tagii, ſurnamed Al Aſhked, roſe into notice; he ſeized not only upon Syria, but upon Egypt, and retained the whole of the latter, excepting a ſmall portion which ſubmitted to the intruſion of Abu Mohammed Obeida'llah. Rhadi was the twentieth of the Abbaſſides, and the thirty-ninth of the line of Mahomet; he was of eaſy acceſs to the ſubjects of his power, and was the patron of learning and ſcience in his dominions. After his time, when Motaki, Motaſkfi, and Mothi, ſuſtained the dignity, the Caliphat was circumſcribed almoſt within the walls of Bagdad. The lords of the eaſtern world, with all the pride of the imperial character, were reduced to the moſt abject miſery. Accuſtomed to receive the ſupplies of their treaſury from the opulence of the provinces of the empire, they aſſigned no limit to their extravagance; but, no longer repleniſhed by the ſpoil and tribute of nations, they now attempted to obtain, by private

extortion, what they before received by public inſtitution; and not poſſeſſing the power to enforce their demands, they were expoſed to inſult from their own ſlaves *. The reign of the Caliphs thus expired in Egypt, never again to be reſtored.

ABU TEMIN MAHUD,

The ſecond of the Fatemite dynaſty, conquered the whole of Egypt at about the date of the 360 year of the Hegira, and 970 of the Chriſtian era.

The Fatemites were the pretended progeny of Ali: they deſtroyed the power of the Abbaſſides, not only in Egypt, but in Syria, and the humble Pontiff on the ſhores of the Tigris no longer iſſued his ineffectual mandates to the proud monarch of the Nile. The fair vale of Egypt ſoon received the court of the prince of Tunis. Cairo was rebuilt, and became the capital of the extenſive empire of the rival Caliphs. This dynaſty received its appellation from Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet, from whom the founder pretended to have derived his deſcent. It continued in the family during the ſpace of 272 lunar years, under a ſucceſſion of fourteen princes, to the firſt of which, however, a very ſmall portion of the country was ſubject. The names of the ſucceſſors

* "Videbimus enim ..... quam indignis et ſervilibus ludibriis exagitati, quam ad humilem fortunam ultimumque contemptum abjecti fuerint hi quondam potentiſſimi totius terrarum Orientalium orbus domini." *Abulfed. Annal. Moslem.* p. 201.

of Abu Temin Mahud were, Manſur, Moez, Ledin'iltah, Aziz, Hakem, Dhaher, Moſtanſer, Moſtali, Amer, Haffedh, Dhaffer, Faez, and Hadhed.

HAKEM,

The ſixth of the family, was one of the moſt ſingular characters that ever diſgraced the annals of hiſtory: he is an inſtance of the terrible conſequences that may reſult from inordinate power in the hands of a wretch, inſenſible to the claims of humanity. Under the character of a reformer he diſplayed all the vice of the bigot, and intruded not only in the ancient cuſtoms of Egypt, but on the ordinary intercourſe of domeſtic life. The women were drawn from the circle of ſociety, and immured within the walls of a priſon; the indignation of both ſexes was equally excited, the guards of the palace were aſſailed, and Cairo itſelf was threatened by a band of enraged incendiaries. The human mind is incapable of ſudden and violent tranſitions; the views of the moſt ambitious man, and the ſchemes of the moſt fooliſh, are at firſt limited, but in his progreſs, man is impelled onward to the moſt extravagant exceſſes. Hakem at firſt was a devout Muſſulman; near thirteen hundred copies of the Koran were written at his charge in golden letters, and the fertile vineyards of ſouthern Egypt were extirpated, that the bleſſings of nature might no longer ſupply the evils of temptation to the ap-

petites of the faithful. Before Hakem every knee was bent in religious adoration, and myſteries were performed to his honour on a ſacred mountain in the vicinity of his capital. In proceſs of time, he diſdained the humble title of the follower of the Prophet; he was ſtyled the Lord of the living and the dead, and the viſible image of the moſt High God: ſixteen thouſand convents ſigned their ſubmiſſion to the new faith, and the divinity of that madman is at this day the popular belief of a free and warlike people of Mount Libanus.*

The cruelty and folly of this prince, in the territory of Syria, by which the temple of the Chriſtian world was demoliſhed, and the ſacred rites of the

* "They practiſe neither circumciſion, prayers, nor faſting; they obſerve neither feſtivals, nor prohibitions. They drink wine, eat pork, and allow marriage between brothers and ſiſters, though not between fathers and children. From this we may conclude, with reaſon, that the Druzes have no religion: yet, one claſs of them muſt be excepted, whoſe religious cuſtoms are very peculiar. Thoſe who compoſe it are to the reſt of the nation what the *initiated* were to the *profane*; they aſſume the name of *Okkals*, which means ſpirituals, and beſtow on the vulgar the epithet of *Djahel*, or ignorant; they have various degrees of initiation, the higheſt orders of which require celibacy. Theſe are diſtinguiſhed by the white turban they affect to wear as a ſymbol of their purity; and ſo proud are they of this ſuppoſed purity, that they think themſelves ſullied by even touching a profane perſon. If you eat out of their plate, or drink out of their cup, they break them; and hence the cuſtom, ſo general in this country, of uſing vaſes, with a ſort of cock, which may be drank out of without touching them with the

Chriſtian religion were interrupted, are leſs connected with the ſubject of our preſent enquiry. Hakem equally hated the Jews and Chriſtians as the ſervants of his rivals, and even under the new character he aſſumed, his prejudices ſtill pleaded in favour of the diſciples of Mahomet.

lips. All their practices are enveloped in myſteries: their oratories always ſtand alone, and are conſtantly ſituated on eminences; in theſe they hold their ſecret aſſemblies, to which women are admitted. It is pretended they perform ceremonies there in preſence of a ſmall ſtatue reſembling an ox or a calf; whence ſome have pretended to prove that they are deſcended from the Samaritans. But, beſides that the fact is not well aſcertained, the worſhip of the ox may be deduced from other ſources.

"They have one or two books which they conceal with the greateſt care; but chance has deceived their jealouſy; for, in a civil war, which happened ſix or ſeven years ago, the Emir Youſef, who is *Djahel*, or ignorant, found one among the pillage of one of their oratories. I am aſſured, by perſons who have read it, that it contains only a myſtic jargon, the obſcurity of which, doubtleſs, renders it valuable to adepts. Hakem Bamr-ellah is there ſpoken of, by whom they mean God, incarnated in the perſon of the Caliph. It likewiſe treats of another life, of a place of puniſhment, and a place of happineſs, where the Okkals ſhall, of courſe, be moſt diſtinguiſhed. Several degrees of perfection are mentioned, to which they arrive by ſucceſſive trials. In other reſpects, theſe ſectaries have all the inſolence, and all the fears, of ſuperſtition: they are not communicative, becauſe they are weak; but it is probable that, were they powerful, they would be promulgators and intolerant.

"The reſt of the Druzes, ſtrangers to this ſpirit, are wholly indifferent about religious matters. The Chriſtians, who live in their country, pretend that ſeveral of them believe in the Metempſychoſis; that others worſhip the ſun, moon, and ſtars,

The Fatemite Caliphs, about forty years subsequent to this period, sustained the loss of the ancient capital and domain of their family. The expert warriors of Numidia and Lybia poured downward to the base of Mount Atlas, under the conduct of Techefien, of the Zenhagian tribe, and seized upon their patrimony. It is probable that the Caliphs of Bagdad had little concern in producing this revolution, but they took every opportunity of signifying their contempt of the schismatics who had usurped their territories in Egypt. They were, however, obliged to content themselves with declarations and manifestos, instead of opposing their enemies by force of arms. About the year 1015, a virulent manifesto was issued at Bagdad, which had a powerful effect on the irritable mind of Hakem, rendered yet more intemperate by a recent rebellion in Upper Egypt. This

all which is possible; for, as among the Ansarians, every one, left to his own choice, follows the opinion that pleases him most; and these opinions are those which present themselves most naturally to unenlightened minds. When among the Turks, they affect the exterior of Mahometans, frequent the mosques, and perform their absolutions and prayers. Among the Maronites, they accompany them to church, and, like them, make use of holy water. Many of them, importuned by the missionaries, suffer themselves to be baptized; and, if solicited by the Turks, receive circumcision, and conclude by dying neither Christians nor Mahometans; but they are not so indifferent in matters of civil policy." — *Volney's Trav ls, Vol. II. p. 59.*

manifeſto was ſubſcribed by ſome of the acknowledged deſcendants of the houſe of Ali, by a great number of Kadis, and its avowed object was to ſhew the fallacy of the pretenſions of the Egyptian Caliph to the Fatemite lineage. The influence this public inſtrument from the feeble Pontiffs of Bagdad had upon the minds of the ſubjects of Hakem, both in Egypt and Syria, expoſes the effect of the ſuperſtition of the times on political affairs in a very remarkable point of view. The Caliph of the Nile condeſcended to reply to this official paper, not indeed with a rational appeal to the reaſon and feelings of his ſubjects, but with paſſionate invectives againſt the whole race of the Abbaſſides.

In conſequence of the enormities we have been conſtrained to notice in this Caliphat, the Mahometans began to apprehend the entire abrogation of their religion. All the faſts, feſtivals, and pilgrimages of that faith he attempted to aboliſh, but their apprehenſions were removed by the aſſaſſination of the perpetrator of theſe crimes, in the year of the Hegira 411, and of the Chriſtian æra 1020. It was not likely that a life of riot ſhould terminate in repoſe. Hakem was deſtroyed by the relations of his own blood, and the companions of his leiſure hours. His ſiſter Setar Molcha had plotted this treaſon, in conjunction with the commander of his forces, and Ebu Dawas was the inſtrument em-

ployed to effect the design. Every morning before day light, the royal hypocrite ascended Mount al Molkatton to hold private conversations with the Deity, attended by a very small retinue; this favourable opportunity the assassin seized, and delivered the world from a monster, who had not reached the thirty-eight year of his age. He had reigned twenty-five years, when

DHAHER

Succeeded to the Caliphat at the age of seven years. On this occasion, Setar Molcha, his aunt, took upon herself the regency of Egypt and Syria, and whatever might be the discretion with which she exercised the government, her influence was of short duration, as she only survived her brother four years. The virtues of Dhaher were of a private kind; the Arabic writers are, however, very inconsistent in their accounts of this prince. The pen of the historian is too frequently employed in tracing the marches and victories of the military hero, while the maxims of a peaceable reign, under a sovereign who respects the lives and happiness of his subjects, and who cultivates the improvement of his time, are neglected and forgotten. Dhaher, after a reign of fifteen years, died in his capital, in 1035, and in the year 427 of the Hegira.

MOSTANSER

Also came to the throne at the same early age at which his father ascended to that dignity. This

prince retained his authority in a long reign of ſixty years, not, however, without very ſerious alarms from the effects of conſpiracy, notwithſtanding he imitated his father in the mildneſs of his government, and both acquired and deſerved the affection of his ſubjects. Three years only had his juvenile temples been bound with the honours of the Caliphat, when his government was publicly diſclaimed by one of his own vaſſals, the Emir of Harran, who, not contented with renouncing his authority, acknowledged ſubmiſſion to the ancient rivals of his family, in the perſon of Kajen the Caliph of Bagdad. But Moſtanſer had ſhortly after an opportunity of taking a ſimilar revenge on the Abbaſſide, who ſo willingly received the rebel under his protection. Baſſaſiri was a dependant of Kajen; he had revolted from his ſovereign and treated for aſſiſtance with the Egyptian prince.—The policy of Moſtanſer did not neglect this favourable opportunity, and not only ſupplied him with forces, but with money. Baſſaſiri, by this powerful aid, was ſo far ſucceſsful as to threaten the utter extinction of the authority of the ancient family of the Abbaſſides: Moſtanſer, his benefactor, was proclaimed Caliph on the ſhores of the Tigris, and the religious ceremonies were performed to his honour in the metropolis of the empire four years poſterior to the inſurrection. In this extremity, driven from the ſeat of his empire, Kajem had re-

courſe to Togrul Bee, who complied with the ſummons, when the Euphrates and Tigris were oppreſſed by the revolt of the Turkiſh and Arabian officers. While the commander of the faithful ſtill ſlumbered a venerable phantom, the Sultan of Perſia marched from Hamadan. "The proud were cruſhed, the proſtrate were ſpared, the prince of the Bowides diſappeared, the heads of the moſt obſtinate rebels were laid at the feet of Togrul, and he inflicted a leſſon of obedience on the people of Moſul and Bagdad. After the chaſtiſement of the guilty, and the reſtoration of peace, the royal ſhepherd accepted the reward of his labours; and a ſolemn comedy repreſented the triumph of religious prejudice over Barbarian power*."

In the year 1066, (Hegira 459) and the two ſucceeding years, the moſt dreadful calamities from famine, peſtilence, and war, afflicted the ſubjects of Moſtanſer, and made an impreſſion on the heart of their benevolent prince, which was never effaced during the whole of his reign. The famine not only extended throughout Egypt, but over his dominions in Syria. The account of the diſtreſs in the latter, can alone be equalled by the detail of that calamity in the ſame country, in the time of the patriarch Joſeph; but no prophet now exiſted in the territories of the ſucceſſor of Pharaoh to forwarn the prince of the danger, and to provide againſt the public cala-

* M. de Guignes, tom. 3. p. 197.—Bondari, tom. 5. p. 365.

mity. Egypt, during the antecedent ſeven years, had exported its grain, that the adjacent countries might be ſupplied from the abundance of nature in her luxuriant vale, and no crouded granaries were left to relieve the wants of a famiſhed people.—The canine ſpecies were ſold for food in the public markets, and human beings were reduced to feed on their own offal. The capital of the empire was depopulated, and a doubt might have been entertained if a ſingle inhabitant would have remained to acknowledge the authority of the monarch. It is on record that the Vizir of State, accuſtomed to be ſurrounded by an army of ſlaves, had but one domeſtic who was capable of attending him to the imperial palace. He left his horſe at the gate, which, on his return, he found had been devoured by a famiſhed croud, who were apprehended and hanged for the offence. The carcaſes were diſtributed on gibbets erected for the purpoſe, which the morning after the execution attracted the attention of the enraged Vizir; he was aſtoniſhed to obſerve that nothing but the bones remained of theſe carcaſes, the inhabitants of the neighbourhood having collected to appeaſe the imperious demands of nature on the fleſh of their countrymen.

The liberality of the diſtreſſed Caliph knew no bounds: ten thouſand camels, horſes, and mules, paſſed from his ſtables to the ſlaughter-houſe; not only the coffers of his treaſury were emptied, but

the jewels of the imperial attire were devoted to alleviate the general calamity, and the immenſe wealth which the plunder of Bagdad had ſupplied, was poured forth in acts of royal munificence.

Peſtilence, the fiend which ever follows in the ghaſtly train of Famine, completed the miſery of this kingdom. Abu Ali Al Haſan Naſrddowla, who had lately revolted from the Caliphat, took advantage of the public diſtreſs the enſuing year, and entered the country at the head of a numerous hoſt of Turkiſh vaſſals. Moſtanſer was beſieged in his own palace; reſiſtance was vain, and the valuables which remained after the vaſt expenditure to which he had ſubmitted for public purpoſes, were ſcarcely ſufficient to obtain his ranſom. Leaving Cairo, the plunderers proceeded through the numerous towns of Egypt, and, after pillaging the ancient capital of the Macedonian, ravaged the country from the ſhores of the Nile to the confines of the deſert, committing the moſt horrid cruelties in their progreſs. Theſe events were ſucceeded by revolts of the provincial governors at Damaſcus and Aleppo, who, availing themſelves of the exhauſted condition of the Fatemite Caliph, ſuppreſſed throughout their vicegerencies his authority, and acknowledged the ſupremacy of the Abbaſſides.

Towards the concluſion of his reign, oppreſſed with the weight of his government, he committed the cares of ſtate to an Armenian who had acquired his confidence, devoting himſelf to the pleaſures of po-

etry, and to the patronage of learning. In the midſt of theſe purſuits, more agreeable to his temper than the cabals of faction, he died after a reign of ſixty years, and was ſucceeded by

MOSTALI,

His youngeſt ſon. Whether this elevation of the minion of the family originated in the artifices of the old miniſter, or in the contrivances of Afdal, who was raiſed to that dignity, is not material; the conſequence however was, that the kingdom was divided into two powerful parties, the one maintaining the authority of Moſtali at Cairo, the other ſupporting the government of Nezar, the elder brother, at Alexandria. It is ſaid that Afdal was excited againſt Nezar by motives of perſonal enmity: certain it is, that he advanced at the head of a powerful army, and having laid ſiege to the place, not only obliged the city to ſurrender, but took Nezar himſelf priſoner. The ſanguinary page of hiſtory is occaſionally relieved by inſtances of clemency and heroiſm, which confer honour on human nature. Afdal was one of the brighteſt ornaments of the Egyptian hiſtory—for a courſe of ſucceſs and glory was a courſe of virtue and humanity. This new Vizir not only gave life, but liberty to this powerful opponent, in the confidence that it ſhould not be miſapplied to the purpoſes of ambition. The reſentment of the diſappointed Nezar could not be diſarmed by this generoſity: he did not comply with the condition on which he ob-

tained his freedom, and being detected in a new conſpiracy to aſcend the throne of his father, he became the victim of his own indiſcretion, and was ſtarved to death in a dungeon.

We ſhall conclude the reign of this Caliph with an event which has made a conſiderable figure in Monkiſh hiſtory. The city of Jeruſalem, in the year 1098, was taken from the Franks, or Cruſaders, by the valour of this ſkilful general, and an immenſe booty was conveyed from the ſhores of Paleſtine to the mouths of the Nile. The Greeks and Arabians gave the name of Franks to the inhabitants of that vaſt region, which was united into one empire under Charlemagne, and extending from the confines of Illiricum to the ſhores of the Atlantic. After a reign of ſeven years, he was in the 495 of the Hegira, and in the 1101 of the Chriſtian æra, ſucceeded by his ſon

AMER,

An infant only five years old. The incapacity of his tender years encouraged the ambition of his uncle, Abu Manſur Berar, to attempt his deſtruction. A dependent of Afdal at this time commanded the important depot of Alexandria. Berar, not prudent enough to take warning from the defeat and deſtruction of Nezar, his brother, in the ſame capital, perſuaded the commander to receive him into the city, under ſpecious pretences, and then procured himſelf to be proclaimed the Fatemite Caliph within its walls. Afdal, who had preſerved the authority of the father

by his military talents before the ſame fortreſs, purſued the two traitors to the caſtle, which he immediately inveſted, and they were forced to ſubmit to the good fortune of the conqueror. The young Caliph, acting under the direction of his faithful miniſter, enjoyed a peaceful reign for thirty years. The prudence of Afdal gained to the miniſter the affection and eſteem of all the Egyptian people, who were alſo diſpoſed to judge of the character of the prince by the virtues of the miniſter he ſelected for the conduct of his government. The hiſtorians, however, leſs candid than his ſubjects, have not applied to him the language of unqualified praiſe: cruelty, pride, debauchery, intrigue, and avarice, are among the vices and habits they have attributed to him; and he has moſt ſtrongly attracted the indignation of the honeſt annaliſt by his ingratitude to the noble and generous Afdal. When he loſt the aſſiſtance of that venerable and expert politician, it is probable that he abandoned the diſcretion of his former government: be the cauſe what it may, a band of aſſaſſins, hired by the malcontents of his court, murdered him while amuſing himſelf in one of his private excurſions. Thus fell Amer, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign. He poſſeſſed many popular qualifications, was a man of erudition, and acquired a facility and elegance of ſtyle, which is a peculiar advantage to the moſt diſtinguiſhed individual in a poliſhed court.

After the death of this prince, the Egyptians had much to apprehend from civil commotion. Three parties were formed for the Caliphat, Amer having died without male iſſue. One of theſe was Abu Hamed, the ſon of Afdal, and the commander of all the Egyptian armies, in the character of Vizir, to which he had been raiſed. Another was the grandſon of Moſtanſer, Abu'l Maimun Abd'al Majid. The third was the widow of the Caliph, who, in the name of the offspring with which ſhe was pregnant, claimed the doubtful title. Her pretenſions were ſoon decided by the Egyptian ſtates, when ſhe was delivered of a female. The oppoſition of the Vizir gave way to the powerful family intereſt of the illuſtrious deſcendant of the Fatemites, and Abu'l Maimun Abd'al Majid was advanced to the honours of the Caliphat, under the ſurname of

HAFFEDH.

The conſequence of his acceſſion was the immediate degradation of the former Vizir, who had reſiſted his appointment. Barham, a perſon who has received more reſpect from the Chriſtian than from the Arabian writers, was nominated to ſucceed. If we may believe the former, he was of noble extraction, poſſeſſed profound wiſdom and reſolute virtue. The preference he gave to the Chriſtians in the court of the Caliph, was not conſiſtent with the maxims of ancient wiſdom, adopted into the Arabian policy. Armenian Chriſtians were admitted into the higheſt of-

fices of the court, and the principles of the times were ſo completely changed, that the Muſſulman was induced to acknowledge himſelf a convert to Chriſtianity to ſmooth his road to preferment. This oppoſition to the ſacred inſtitutions of his time could not long be borne by a ſuperſtitious people; a tumult took place in the metropolis, and a vaſt multitude aſſembled at the gates of the palace, armed with lances, ſuſpending from their points copies of the Koran, the precepts of which had been infringed by this ſectary of the croſs. Theſe acts of violence neither the ſovereign nor his miniſter were inclined immediately to oppoſe by force of arms, and an ambitious pretender, named Ebn Walahakſhi, ſucceeded Barham in his important ſtation. It is the more probable conjecture, that the latter was induced to give way to the popular fury by the humanity of his diſpoſition; he poſſeſſed the confidence of the troops of the ſtate, and it would have been eaſy for him to have ſilenced in death theſe turbulent citizens: but although he was willing to ſpare the blood of the people, yet it ſeems he was not diſpoſed voluntarily to reſign his authority on the demand of public clamour. His brother was at that period governor of the province and city of Kuz: Barham intended to take refuge in that city, and avail himſelf of ſome favourable opportunity to re-eſtabliſh his power. When he arrived at the gates of the city, he found them ſhut againſt him, and his aſtoniſhment was not removed till he was in-

formed that, by the artifices of the new Vizir, his brother had been aſſaſſinated.

Ebn Walahakſhi loſt no time utterly to annihilate the power of his enemy; he marched with a numerous army to meet him, but inſtead of a ſkilful general and a gallant hoſt, he found a ſingle monk unſupported, who yielded himſelf into the hands of his foe. Braham had aſſumed the Chriſtian habit, and thus convinced the world of the reality of his intentions to reeſtabliſh Chriſtianity in the empire of the Ptolemies. The new Vizir ſpared his life and ſet him at liberty. The Chriſtian annaliſt reluctantly reſigns this energetic and virtuous friend of his faith in early times, to the obſcure and ſelfiſh duties of the cloyſter, and he is permitted, even by the Arabian writers, to draw him from his retirement. A meſſenger, we are told, from the palace of Cairo, was diſpatched to the monaſtry of Zacheri, to invite the recluſe from the private duties of his ſacred character, to the councils of the Egyptian Caliph. It is ſaid he complied with the preſſing ſolicitation, and that he was received into the palace of his ſovereign. Notwithſtanding the urgent requeſt of his royal maſter, he declined every oſtenſible ſituation in the offices of ſtate, and died careſſed and reſpected at the court of Cairo.

It might have been expected, from the mild conduct of the new Vizir, his predeceſſor, that he would not have been guilty of that extreme ſeverity toward the members of the Chriſtian faith, which appeared

in the future part of his hiſtory, and it is not eaſy to account for the paſſiveneſs of the Caliph on theſe occaſions. Houſes, churches, and monaſteries, were plundered by the troops, and the monks were butchered without mercy. Thoſe of the Arminian faith were excluded from all poſts of dignity in the army and the Divan; they were diſgraced by a badge of ſlavery, which was affixed to their garments, and they were oppreſſed by pecuniary exactions. His power was ſo deſpotic, that his maſter, either from fear or pleaſantry, inveſted him with the title of Melek Meſr, or the King of Egypt, which either his pride or folly induced him to aſſume, in the diſcharge of his official duties.

The Chriſtians had already become a numerous and powerful body: the perſecution they had endured made them unite to reſiſt the impoſitions of this haughty miniſter; their ſtrength appeared ſo formidable, that fearful of encountering it at that time, in the ſeat of empire, he fled to the dominions of his maſter in Syria. The dependencies of the empire, accuſtomed to the exerciſe of his authority, ſubmitted to his demands, and a powerful army was raiſed for his protection. He now deſcended again upon Egypt with his Arabian warriors, and obtained a complete victory over the diſaffected adherents of the croſs. But his enemies were not to be diſcomfited by a ſingle defeat; they rallied and attacked the mercenary Arabs, and totally defeated them, when their leader

was obliged to ſhelter himſelf within the precincts of the palace of his ſovereign. Haſſedh on this occaſion acted the part, not only of a generous, but of a wiſe prince. The enormities the Vizir had committed, the Caliph attributed to his zeal for the honour of the Muſſulmen, and the unfavourable circumſtances under which he was forced into power by the clamours of a rebellious hoſt. Haſſedh therefore frankly forgave his errors, and held out to him the royal protection; but to prevent the repetition of that conduct, to which the rights and intereſts of his people had been ſacrificed, he deprived the miniſter of all the dignities of his ſtation, determined never again to ſuffer him to interfere in the affairs of government.

Thus the Ex-Vizir continued a priſoner in the palace, for neither the will of his ſovereign, nor the diſcontents of the people, would permit him to go at large to excite new commotions; in the mean time, he was treated with ſingular reſpect by his royal maſter. His reſtleſs temper was, however, little ſuited to the ſtate of inactivity to which he was reduced; every acceſs to his apartment was guarded, and eſcape would have appeared impoſſible to a mind leſs determined. In this dilemma, he broke away a portion of the wall of his apartment, and eſcaped into the city, from whence he haſtened to Meſr, where he was joined by a horde of dependants. It was in vain that he attempted again to arm the friends of the Creſcent againſt the diſciples of the Croſs; diſcord prevailed

among his own troops, and he fell by the hand of an aſſaſſin.

The eaſy temper of Haffedh was prevailed on by an artful ambaſſador of the Emir of Abiſſinia, to order the emigration of a number of perſons of epiſcopal dignity from Alexandria. The intention of the Abiſſinian chief was, by this means, to eſtabliſh a powerful ſynod in his domains, and thus ſhake off his dependence on the patriarchal ſee of Alexandria. Such was his ſecret motive; the oſtenſible one was to promote the intereſts of religion, by the influence and example of theſe dignified viſitors. The patriarch of the ſee ſaw with diſdain the contrivance of the foreign vaſſal, and apprized the Caliph of the inſidious deſign. Haffedh was convinced that the pliability of his temper had ſubjected him to impoſition, and the ambaſſador was diſmiſſed without fulfilling the object of his expedition.

The defect we have noticed in the diſpoſition of Haffedh, ſometimes expoſed the beſt friends of ſociety to evils as fatal as thoſe which are endured under the government of a conceited and obſtinate bigot. Under the late miſmanagement, edicts had been iſſued againſt the Chriſtians, at which the gentle heart of Haffedh revolted; and Ebn Yunez, a partizan of that ſect, and a perſon of great merit, had been expoſed to the violence of oppreſſion. Among the reforms, Haffedh aboliſhed the rank of the Vizirate, which had been ſo groſsly abuſed, and raiſed this injured indivi-

dual to the place he deſerved in the confidence of his ſovereign. Virtue is always unſuſpicious; the confidence Eben Yunez had obtained, he rather wiſhed to ſhare with others than to engroſs to himſelf: ſome Samaritans were permitted to approach the ear of the Caliph; the whiſper of calumny was liſtened to with fatal attention, and Ebn Yunez and his brother were condemned to death. It was no compenſation to theſe virtuous adherents of the court, that their malicious enemies were accuſed in their turn, and that they were ſacrificed to public juſtice by the repentant Haffedh.

Nothing material occurred in the concluding years of the reign of this Caliph. The artful politician by which Haffedh had been appriſed of the intentions of the Abiſſinian emiſſary, died ſoon after the advice he had given, and Gabriel acceded to the patriarchate, which he enjoyed only nine months. On his deceaſe the Caliph confirmed the nomination of John, the ſon of Abulfatali; and diſgrace was reflected on the Chriſtian faith by the death of this new dignitary, who was poiſoned by the monks of his own order. Haffedh died at the age of ſeventy-ſeven, after a reign of twenty years, in 1141, (Hegira 544) when

DHAFFER

Aſcended the throne of his father. The firſt act of his reign was dangerous to the repoſe of the ſtate. The royal youth, who was only ſeventeen, was unwiling at this early period to undertake the cares and

reſponſibility of government, and abandoning the reform of his father, nominated to the rank of Vizir, Nojmo'ddin Ebn Meſal. The appointment was the more juſtifiable, becauſe this dependant of the court had been honoured with the peculiar confidence of the deceaſed Caliph. It appears that the change in the ſtate was oppoſed to the wiſhes of Ali Ebn Selar, governor of Alexandria. This haughty vaſſal proclaimed open rebellion on the ſhores of the Mediterranean; collected a large army in the provinces to which his influence extended, and ſuddenly appeared before Cairo. It was in vain that Nojmo'ddin ſhould attempt to reſiſt this powerful aſſailant with the ſlaves by whom he was ſurrounded; he therefore took flight, and his rival was appointed in his room. The ſituation the Ex-Vizir had enjoyed in the friendſhip of the late Caliph, had given him extenſive power; he was determined to make uſe of it, and notwithſtanding his recent degradation, he was enabled to collect a ſufficient body of negroes to face his enemy in the field. He gave battle, was ſlain in the action, and his head being cut off, was ſupported on the point of a lance, and carried through the ſtreets of that metropolis where his commands had hitherto been obeyed by a ſubſervient crowd.

We have before remarked that the Chriſtians had become a powerful and opulent body in the ſtate: their wealth at this time attracted the avarice of the new miniſter, and he hoped by ſhewing them ſome

favour, to receive the fruits of their generosity. Sometimes more resentment is excited from accidental and trifling causes, than from the most onerous and unjust oppression. The reader is informed of that badge of distinction in the raiment of the Christians which was introduced during the administration of the last Vizir, in the Caliphat of Haffedh; Selar annulled the edict by which it was commanded, and obtained the surname of Just, for the apparent liberality of his conduct, and waited with impatience for the pecuniary acknowledgments, from the beneficiaries of his power. Not receiving the gratification he expected, he had the cruelty and folly to revive the former edict, and thus exposed himself to public contempt and private hatred.

The governor of Balbeis had looked with an eye of jealousy on the increasing authority of Selar, which being too weak to oppose by open war, he condescended to resist by secret treachery. Forgetting the duties of a father, he employed his own son as the instrument of base assassination, and then availed himself of the interest of the murderer to facilitate his own advancement to the highest honours of the state. After he had thus educated his son in iniquity, it was no wonder the latter should be mean enough to submit to those compliances, which form the lowest step in the character of man. On some indecent familiarities of the Caliph, it was thought expedient by this infamous family, to put him out of the way, and with

ſuch perſons no exceſs of atrocity would be an interruption to the attempt. The Caliph was invited to a ſplendid entertainment, at the houſe of Abbas Al Sanhaji, the new Vizir: two intimate friends accompanied their ſovereign. This addition was rather a motive than objection to the perpetration of the deed. Thoſe who abrogate the moſt ſacred laws of humanity, can violate without reluctance the more feeble inſtitutions of hoſpitality. The Caliph and his illuſtrious aſſociates were all three diſpatched, and on the hurry of the occaſion, their bodies were concealed in an adjacent well. What Abbas had performed already had prepared him to wade through a ſea of blood. He went to the palace at the uſual hour, and with the ordinary ceremonies, as if to pay his morning reſpects at the foot of the ſovereign. Obſerving ſome confuſion in the palace at the diſappearance of the Caliph, he coolly enquired the cauſe, of which being informed, he condemned two of the pontifical brothers and a couſin to be put to death as the murderers, and other members of the palace as accomplices.

It is probable, that nothing but the reſpect of the people for the race of Fatima would have prevented this monſter from aſſuming the imperial honours;

FAEZ

Was, however, brought from the nurſery of the ſeraglio, when only five years old, to receive the allegiance of his country. Some writers have entertained

the ſtrange ſuppoſition that the death of his father and uncles ſo powerfully affected his infant mind, that from the moment the atrocities of his court were made known to him, he became a maniac. The probability is, that the idiotcy of the hereditary prince was the chief inducement to the murder of his father; that even without the appearance of controul, Abbas might poſſeſs the ſovereign ſway, and acquire all the honours of the ſtate without incurring the infamy of extinguiſhing the Fatemite dynaſty. It is not unuſual for thoſe who obtain power by ſuch nefarious means, to miſapply it to their own deſtruction. It is not unlikely that the unmanly crimes of his ſon, Naſr, had attracted the peculiar indignation of the females of the Haram; certain it is, that they took a diſtinguiſhed part in the new factions of the court, and ſhewed uncommon zeal to bring theſe two potent officers to condign puniſhment. The diſcontents ſpread from the palace to the capital, from the capital to the army, and from the army to the provinces. A leader was only wanting to repreſent the public mind, and to collect the force of the country. An Armenian general had at this time the ſupreme authority in the army; he was called upon not only by the grandees of the court, but by the univerſal voice of the people, to direct the hoſts he commanded againſt theſe miſcreants. Before he could apprehend them, they had taken flight for Syria, whither they had ſent all their wealth, under a powerful eſcort. No expedi-

ents were neglected to entangle these wary fugitives, and even the armies from Europe were invited to assist in the capture. Fortunately the crusaders, after the taking of Ascalon, continued in that vicinity. Allured by the largesses of the sister of the deceased Caliph, strong detachments from the Christian army were dispatched in different directions, and were successful in their pursuit; a bloody engagement was the consequence, the Vizir himself fell on the field of battle, Nasr was taken prisoner, and the Franks divided among themselves the rich spoil which had been plundered from the court of Cairo. The modern historian will, for the sake of humanity, indulge a hope that the sequel of the narrative is not correct: the peculiar atrocities of Nasr will render the excesses of female indignation less improbable. This beautiful, but criminal youth, we are told, was conducted under a strong guard from the frontiers to the gates of the capital, from whence he was escorted to the seraglio, and delivered up to the ladies of the Haram, to be punished according to their pleasure. His right hand was crushed in the most terrible manner, by the direction of the sister of the Caliph, while the attendant females, with hot pincers, tore the flesh from his bones; and some unpolished writers have added, ate it before his face. While the vital principle was yet active, his body was elevated on a lofty gibbet, on which he was exposed to the indignation of an injured people.

The infirmity of the young Caliph rendered him totally incapable of ſuſtaining the weight of government; it was of the greateſt conſequence to the ſtate to procure the nomination of a diſcreet and virtuous miniſter, to whom that weight might be ſafely transferred. Whatever might be the wiſhes of the people, the power of Talay, the Armenian general, was not to be reſiſted; he had driven the former Vizir from his country, and he poſſeſſed the confidence of the army, who could ſmooth his way to authority over the necks of his enemies. Talay having acquired the rank of Vizir, attempted to increaſe his popularity by ſhewing his reſpect for the memory of the deceaſed Caliph. The ſervants of his predeceſſor in office ſoon expoſed the crime of their maſter, and the mangled bodies of Dhaffer, and the two royal favourites, were drawn from the well in which they had been buried, to be interred with funereal honours. Whatever might be the expedients of policy to which he reſorted, he did not long retain the public approbation. His avarice was the principal ſource of his criminality. Although a Chriſtian, he treated thoſe of his own ſect with the ſame ſeverity which he directed againſt the Jews and the Mahometans; the derogatory marks in the habits of the former were reſumed, and he was ever ready to liſten to the tongue of accuſation, buſy in propagating calumnies againſt the aſſociates of his devotional duties. At the age of eleven years,

the idiot, who wore the princely robes, died, and was ſucceeded by

HADHED,

In the year 1160, (Hegira 555.) He was the laſt Caliph of the Fatemite race, and had not long occupied the throne before the Armenian Vizir was aſſaſſinated on the ſteps of his palace. The deſtruction of the former Vizir, as well as his ſucceſſor, was attributed to the women of the court; but the ſuſpicion particularly reſted on the aunt of the new Caliph, who, having before interfered in the affairs of ſtate, was unwilling to reſign her authority to this audacious intruder. A ſet of ruffians attacked the miniſter, and incompletely effected their purpoſe: from the gate of the palace he was conveyed alive to his own ſeraglio, from whence he preſumed to ſend a meſſenger to the Caliph, charging him with the perpetration of the crime. Hadhed exculpated himſelf, and accompanied his vindication with the moſt ſolemn oaths and proteſtations; and, as a further proof of his condeſcenſion, delivered up his own aunt to the enraged and dying miniſter. He lived juſt long enough to obtain the nomination of his ſon to the dignity of the Vizirate, and to wreak his vengeance on that unhappy woman, who was inſtantly decapitated in his preſence. Talay was well inſtructed in early life, and poſſeſſed an exquiſite taſte in poetical compoſition, which has not been wholly loſt to the learned world. He roſe into life under promiſing circumſtances, and

was particularly ſkilful in military tactics, but the honours to which he ſucceeded perverted his early habits; extortion and cruelty became his daily practice, and he died unlamented.

From the imbecility of moſt of the eaſtern princes, brought up under the tuition of women, relaxed by the ſwaddles of ſtate, and perfectly incloſed within the walls of the ſeraglio, the hiſtory of their government conſiſts of little more than the biography of the ſucceſſive miniſters, who directed their feeble hands in wielding the ſceptre of ſtate. The fondneſs of the Armenian for his riſing progeny, left his ſon Zarik with the honours of the ſecond dignity in the ſtate; but he had not duly conſidered the character of his ſucceſſor. The moment the mind of Zarik was called into action, its atrocity muſt be expoſed. Shawer, a powerful eunuch of the palace, was indebted for his importance in the ſtate to the father of Zarik. If he did not expect the ſame liberality from the ſon he had experienced from the father, he at leaſt preſumed on the exerciſe of the ſimple duties of impartial juſtice. Hazan, his nephew, had conducted himſelf in a manner that gave Shawer great diſguſt; he appealed to the Vizir, and his petition was rejected with contempt. The haughtineſs of Hazan increaſed with the countenance he received from Zarik, and he had the inſolence to diſpatch a meſſenger to his uncle with the preſent of a box, in which was incloſed one of thoſe ſcourges with which the ſlaves were accuſtomed

to receive their punishment. The deficiency in the form of Shawer had not debilitated the powers of his mind. Like Gaza, of the court of Darius, and Hernia, the friend of Aristotle, he possessed courage in the field, and wisdom in the cabinet. Sensible of the dignity and force of his own character, and cut to the quick by the audacity of this junior of his family, he withdrew from Cairo to the vicinity of Alexandria. Near that city he pitched his camp; his friends and adherents flocked to him in great numbers, and the waters of the lake glittered with the arms of his hostile companions. The minister impoliticly sent a force which was wholly incapable of fulfilling his orders, and Shawer remained victorious on the field of battle. The news of this victory increased his reputation; the numerous plunderers of the desart were invited to join his standard, allured by the expectation of a rich booty in the possessions of the Vizir. Ten thousand horse were now under his orders. Not to disappoint the expectations of his supporters, he marched directly to the territories of the Vizir, which he resigned to the pillage of his mercenaries; thence he proceeded towards Cairo, and threatened the capital with destruction. The inactive and cowardly Zarik had made no preparations to resist the indignant rebel: thoughtless of the duties he owed to his country and government, his only concern was to preserve himself and his family, and to convey the vast wealth he inherited from his father to some place

of ſafety. The new Caliph awakened to the danger, from the dream of ſecurity within the precincts of his ſeraglio. He was informed of the diſhonourable flight of the ſlave of his court, on whom he repoſed the weight of his authority; and, to appeaſe the inſurgent eunuch, he degraded Zarik, and inveſted Shawer with the vizirate.

The Arab cavalry in the ſervice of Shawer was accuſtomed to purſuit and plunder: they ſeparated the corps into flying detachments, which overtook the fugitive Zarik, ſeized upon his wealth, and ſent the unfortunate proprietor in irons to the new Vizir. The ſon of Talay appeared naked and trembling before Shawer, expecting inſtant death as the puniſhment of his crime, and the conſequence of his folly. He recollected the indignity with which he had treated his ſucceſſor, when Shawer appeared a ſupplicant in his preſence, and collected his own miſerable fate from the ſimilarity of temper he preſumed the victorious enemy poſſeſſed. But the mind of the generous eunuch was formed in a different mould: Shawer could defy his enemy in the ſeat of power, and compaſſionate the victim of his better fortune; he not only treated Zarik with reſpect, but aſſigned him an apartment in his own palace. As the wily arts of the daſtardly Zarik impoſed on the generous confidence of Shawer, he became the companion of the table of the Vizir, and his adviſer in affairs of ſtate. Nothing could convince the honeſt heart of Shawer,

that the aſſociate with whom he paſſed the jeſt of the idle hour, or united in council on the moſt ſerious buſineſs, ſhould be the viper that could ſting him to death. Tay, a relation of his family, was cautious in his habits, and deciſive in his meaſures. He had obtained information of the plots of Zarik to ſpread the ſpirit of revolt among the Egyptian emirs, and a dark catalogue of treaſonable practices was diſplayed before him, which raiſed his reſentment to a pitch no longer to be borne. He puniſhed the criminal, and then expoſed his crimes. He ruſhed impetuouſly into the apartment of Zarik, ſtruck off his head at one blow, confident that the motives by which he was actuated would, to the eunuch and the whole court, be his ſufficient vindication. Whatever indifference might prevail among the adherents of the palace, the noble Shawer heard with concern and indignation this act of violence within his own walls; and the near alliance of the murderer with his own blood, rather ſeemed to increaſe his crime, than to afford any exculpation for the ferocity of the deed. The Fatemite dynaſty was now approaching its termination, and we are ſtill conſtrained to abandon its illuſtrious members, in order to recite the events that more immediately affected the ſlaves of the ſtate, who were inveſted with the higheſt official rank. Dargan had riſen to rank in the army; he had acquired the affection of the troops he commanded, and from motives of ambition was induced to try the experiment

which had been ſo ſucceſsful in the hands of Shawer, by producing a military revolution. The Vizir appriſed of his danger, and more prompt and reſolute than his predeceſſor, collected an army to reſiſt this new pretender. A deſperate battle enſued, when the gallant Tay fell dead on the field, and Shawer was obliged to abandon the ground to his competitor, and to take refuge in Syria.

The ſequel of the ſtory ſhews, that the laſt of the line of Ali was a mere phantom in the ſtate. Dargan made the beſt uſe of his time during the flight of his enemy, and aſſumed the duties Shawer had been conſtrained to abandon. He increaſed his power by family connection; the brave officers of his predeceſſors were inhumanly butchered; his own friends were introduced to the ſituations that were thus vacant; and his two brothers were elevated to the ſecond and third dignities within the appointment of the palace. It will, however, be ſeen, that theſe acts of violence, to which he reſorted for the conſolidation of his own authority, were not effectual, and that they haſtened the deſtruction of the maſter he ſo diſreputably ſerved. Shawer had already, at an earlier period, ſhewn the keenneſs of his reſentment, and the weight of his power, under circumſtances more deſperate than the preſent: he was indebted for his ſucceſs at that time to the alliances he formed with the banditti of the deſart. He now eſtabliſhed a more honourable connection with Noro'ddin, Emir of Damaſcus. It ap

pears Dargan was in the intereſt of the Chriſtian faction, and Noro'ddin was a determined enemy to this ſect. The eunuch artfully availed himſelf of this propenſity in the Emir of Damaſcus, and of another not leſs favourable to his deſigns. Shawer, as if he poſſeſſed an abſolute controul over the revenues of Egypt, offered to Noro'ddin one third part of the produce of the empire. Noro'ddin was thus tempted to engage in the undertaking, and, during the preparations, a new motive preſented itſelf to the Syrian governor. The provinces of the Nile had been ſo much weakened by theſe internal commotions, and the imprudent adminiſtration of Dargan, that the Chriſtian armies, who had long looked to the conqueſt of that country, ſeemed ready to pounce upon their prey.

A numerous hoſt was collected by Noro'ddin with promptitude, and Shairacuh, their commander, received orders for the re-eſtabliſhment of the eunuch in his former authority at the court of Cairo. No enemy ventured to ſupport the cauſe of Dargan on the frontiers of the kingdom. The latter, however, appeared near the ſepulchre of St. Naphiſa, and encountered his enemy. The event of the battle being favourable to Shawer, he was reinſtated in the vizirate, and Noro'ddin anxiouſly waited to receive the reward of his exertions: Shairacuh continued in the country to enforce the demands of his maſter; but Shawer on this occaſion, probably from having pro-

miſed more than he could perform, neglected to fulfil his engagements with punctuality. Shairacuh advanced with his victorious forces to exact compliance; he ſeized upon Sharkiah and Peluſium, and retained them as a ſecurity for his Syrian chief. And now the eunuch, unable to impede the progreſs of the forces of the Emir, formed a third alliance for his ſecurity, which proved fatal to himſelf and to the deſcendants of Fatima. The Franks had been carrying their conquering arms over the weſtern territories of Africa, and were bearing down in hoſtile array upon the fair dominions of the Caliph. Inſtead of meeting theſe Chriſtian bands as the enemies of his country, he accelerated their progreſs, and implored their aſſiſtance. Shawer anſwered his immediate purpoſes by this invitation; Shairacuh was ſurrounded on every ſide by the hardy veterans of the weſt, but his courageous Arabs, although in conſtant danger of periſhing by famine, would not ſurrender to the Chriſtians they deteſted. Noro'ddin had lately obtained ſome victories over this people in his own territory: he obliged the Franks he had conquered to order the retreat of their brethren in Africa, by whom his general was ſurrounded. He thus obtained for Shairacuh a free egreſs, and his general returned to Syria without oppoſition.

While the fate of Shawer thus roſe and fell on the waves of fortune, the family of the Armenian Talay obtained no inconſiderable ſhare of the ſpoil. One

of the branches was advanced for a ſhort interval to the honours of the vizirate. This grateful occupant recollected the generoſity of Shawer to his own unworthy relation, and, notwithſtanding the advice of his friends to the contrary, he placed ſuch unbounded reliance on the good faith of the eunuch, that the latter was aſſigned the important government of Egyptus Superior. This deſcendant of Talay dying ſoon after, left the vizirate to his ſon, with the ſtrict injunction to repoſe equal confidence in the integrity of Shawer. The juvenile Vizir, too fond of the exerciſe of his newly acquired authority, impoſed his commands on the veteran Shawer to withdraw from his government. The eunuch affected to comply with the awful mandate; but in fact covertly aſſembled the forces of the province where he preſided, then precipitately advanced on Cairo, and inſtructed the young Vizir too late in a leſſon of repentance, who paid for his preſumption with his life.

Shawer was now ſeated in the vizirate, enriched with the ſpoils of his enemies, without a ſingle competitor, with every appendage of the caliphat, excepting the title, the palace, and the robes of ſtate. The royal cypher, confined within his ſeraglio, had more to fear from the power of his miniſter, than the miniſter had to apprehend from the authority of his ſacred maſter. The character of Shawer was ſomewhat darkened by his ingratitude to the emir of Damaſcus. The uſual habits of the eunuch were

perfectly ſuited to the temper of the victorious Noro'ddin. In proportion to their former friendſhip, became the indignation of the Syrian chief. The latter had lately extended his dominions not only over Syria, but over Meſopotamia, and had eſtabliſhed the eaſtern limits of his empire on the ſhores of the Tigris. He knew the magnitude of his own power, and was reſolved that its weight ſhould fall upon the miniſter of Egypt, for the unexpected perfidy with which he was chargeable. Shairacuh again deſcended into the plains of the Nile: Shawer, fearful of encountering the victorious troops of Aſia, under this gallant commander, purchaſed his retreat by a reluctant compliance with all his demands.

But Shawer had not the ſmalleſt intention of continuing to the Emir of Syria the enormous contribution of a third of the revenues of the empire of Egypt, while the latter was determined to inſiſt on the completion of his contract. Whatever might be the moderation of his temper, the Chief of Damaſcus had engaged in extenſive ſchemes of conqueſt, in which the intereſt of his religion and glory of his name were deeply concerned, and this new ſource of ſupply to his coffers was eſſential to the ſucceſs of his enterprizes. In this dilemma, the eunuch renewed his connection with the Franks, the determined enemies of Noro'ddin. The Syrian troops, who had conquered that weſtern people on their own ground, now again entered the mouths of the Nile to engage the

ſame enemy, as allies of the Egyptian Caliph. The command was given to the veteran Shairacuh, and he was accompanied by Saladin, his nephew, who was deſtined to make a conſiderable figure in the annals of hiſtory. The reinforcement Shawer had received from the Chriſtians, was inſuffiient to enable him to meet this ſkilful enemy; he applied for additional troops, and his ſolicitations received a prompt compliance. The Syrians had already made themſelves maſters of the canton of Yizza: he had no option, but either to ſurrender to the foe, or to ſuffer the hazard of a general engagement. The bravery natural to his character did not admit him to protract his determination—he haſtened to attack the enemy, and received a complete overthrow.

Alexandria ſoon ſubmitted to the conqueror; and, while Saladin was left in the command of the garriſon of that city, Shairacuh proceeded to Upper Egypt, with the view to reduce the whole country. This prudent general had left a ſtrong force under the command of his nephew, and the wiſdom of this precaution was ſoon evident: for, on this diviſion of the Syrian army, the Franks collecting their ſcattered forces, attacked the city, which patiently endured a cloſe ſiege for three months. The contrariety of opinions in the hiſtorians of the time, involve the ſequel of this expedition in much obſcurity. The curious reader will, we apprehend, rather confirm than remove his doubts, by conſulting the pages of Re-

naudot and Abu'lfeda, and the numerous biographers of Saladin. Certain it is, that Shairacuh haſtily returned to Alexandria, and ſubſcribed a treaty with the beſiegers, by which the latter agreed to defray not only the expences of the invaſion, but to make a much larger contribution to the Syrian treaſury. The conjecture of one of theſe writers is not improbable; that Shairacuh, finding his army conſiderably reduced by the dangers of this hardy enterprize, conceived the impoſſibility of the reduction of Egypt, without powerful reinforcements, and therefore poſtponed fulfilling the intentions of his maſter to ſome more favourable opportunity. It, however, may be juſtly doubted, whether this vaſt ſcheme of ambition had yet entered the mind of Noro'ddin; and if it were not the ſubſequent conduct of the eunuch which, irritating him beyond all endurance, led him onward to this vaſt effort of his power.

Shawer and the Franks were now in cloſe alliance; he had got rid of his Syrian enemy, and the Emir of Damaſcus was buſily employed in his own dominions in ſuppreſſing a daring revolt. The eunuch by this time had encouraged in his boſom a mortal enmity againſt his late patron; he was reſolved, if poſſible, to prevent any further incurſions into the vale of Egypt, and, to fulfil his deſigns, entered into new engagements with the Franks, by which he ſtipulated, that the latter ſhould not wait for the arrival of the Syrian army, but ſhould embark for the eaſtern coaſt

of the Mediterranean, and attack Noro'ddin in his own dominions. The Syrian was informed of these negociations; he was not only exasperated, but alarmed at such bold measures, and to frustrate the immature schemes of the Egyptian, appointed Fakhro'ddin Mas'ud to the command of a powerful army, with which he ventured to besiege the celebrated fortress of Ya'bar. This attempt was, however, unsuccessful: the attack was renewed, with the assistance of a large reinforcement from Syria; the place was in considerable danger, but had not surrendered, when the general was bought off with twenty thousand dinars, and the acquisition of the city of Sarif. It was not until this advanced period, that the Vizir began to be sensible of his folly, in admitting the Franks to his confidence. Instead of adhering to their friendly engagements, they availed themselves of the footing they had acquired on the Egyptian territory, and took possession of Pelusium (Balbeis), and many other places. The captives were every where treated with inhumanity: citizens and soldiers, Christians and Mahometans, were indiscriminately put to the sword, and those that escaped death were sent into slavery. Intoxicated with success, they advanced onward to the capital of the empire. Shawer directed the destruction of Mesr, that the Franks might not procure shelter in that ancient city. In his perplexity, the eunnch condescended to have recourse to the Caliph, to procure his interces-

ſion with Noro'ddin, at that time at open war with the ſtate, that the Syrian might bring his feelings of diſpleaſure to ſubſide with his brethren of the ſame faith, and might join the Egyptian forces to extirpate the impious Chriſtians, who were likely to obtain poſſeſſion of the empire.

Shairacuh at this time alſo commanded the Syrian troops: the opportunity was too favourable for the accompliſhment of all the wiſhes of Noro'ddin to be neglected: he ordered his general to repair to Egypt with ſixty thouſand horſe, and they approached near to Cairo, before either the Caliph or his Vizir had any intelligence of their arrival on the coaſt. It was a critical moment: the Franks had already inveſted the capital, and further reſiſtance was impoſſible from the undiſciplined multitude in this populous city. They had learnt with horror of the ravages of which the Franks had been guilty in their late conqueſts, and trembled for the conſequences of their ſituation. While the unconſcious eunuch was treating for the purchaſe of the city in one quarter of the camp of the Franks, the Chriſtians were preparing for the approach of Shairacuh in the other. The ranſom of the city was haſtily obtained at the price of an hundred thouſand dinars, paid at the time, and nine times that amount to be diſcharged at a future opportunity. The Franks having thus obtained all that could be raiſed on the preſſure of the moment, retired with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving the city

in aſtoniſhment at their utter neglect of all precaution to ſecure the fulfilment of the reſt of the agreement. The ſurpriſe at their precipitation was, however, quickly removed, by the appearance of Shairacuh, with his Syrian horſe. The progreſs of his march had been facilitated by the Egyptian Mahometans, who feared the authority of their prophet would be ſubverted by the Chriſtian hoſts which inundated their country: he was therefore received every where as the ſaviour of the ſtate. Saladin had likewiſe attended his uncle in this expedition.

When the commanders, with their ſuite, appeared at the gates of Cairo, no ſmall difficulty attended their reception, in conſequence of the juſt cauſe the eunuch had given for the reſentment of the new allies. The Caliph, however, conſcious of his own innocence, had none of thoſe alarms which agitated the guilty breaſt of Shawer, rendered yet more ſenſible to the reproaches of his own conſcience, by the ſentiments of integrity and virtue by which his conduct had been regulated in early life. The Caliph invited the general to the ſplendid feſtivities of the ſeraglio, and inveſted him with the robe of royalty. Saladin, and the chief officers of the army, received ſimilar marks of friendſhip and diſtinction from the grateful Caliph. Shawer entered, complying with thoſe ceremonies of reſpect, and reſorting to thoſe aſſiduities of perſonal attention, which would moſt contribute to perſuade them of the ſincerity of his

attachment. He was not ſilent on the ſubject of his former conduct, for which he attempted to apologize, with a total diſregard of truth, if not of probability; the more ſucceſsfully to anſwer his purpoſes, and in the courſe of the conference, he invited theſe illuſtrious Syrians to partake of a banquet at his own palace. Shawer, who had not been educated in villany, and who had not yet learnt to make the dark aſſaſſin the companion of his leiſure hours, did not conduct his ſchemes with that ſecrecy the iniquity of his deſigns required. Information was therefore given to the Syrian party, and the nephew of the general in chief, with another of his principal officers, were ordered to take a favourable opportunity of ſeizing on his perſon. It is probable that the valiant Shawer would have made a deſperate reſiſtance, but he was immediately deſerted by his daſtardly retinue, and, after being accuſtomed to the indulgencies of a luxurious court, the tone of his mind was relaxed, and he preferred the chances of an ignoble life to a glorious death. Shairachu at this time ſeemed to poſſeſs the ſupreme authority, and the deſcendant of Mahomet was the ſlave of his will. The ungrateful Shawer was conducted to the preſence of the Syrian, and from thence to the place of his confinement. The unfortunate Vizir had now no friend at court to plead his cauſe, and Shairachu partaking of the nobility of mind of the hero of Damaſcus, whom he ſerved, was unwilling, probably, that the Eunuch ſhould fall un-

der his own vindictive hand. The caliph himself demanded the head of his ancient servant, which, elevated on the weapon of the Egyptian infantry, was exposed to the derision of the citizens. The unhappy minister, from the virtues of his early life, had retained some portion of the affections of the elders of the people; they were ashamed of the base submission of the offspring of Fatima, and resisted the appointment now made, of the foreign general to the duties of the Vizirate, which had hitherto been discharged by the natives of the land. Shairachu, on his nomination, had been complimented with the present of the seraglio of his predecessor: arrayed in the robes of state, and surrounded by his guards, he was proceeding to take possession of this valuable gift, when he was insulted by the soldiery and the populace. The mercenary spirit of the inhabitants is shewn by the artifice he employed to extricate himself from this new difficulty. He told the insulting crowd that the property of the late Vizir was surrendered to them by the Caliph, on which they left the new candidate for public favour, to plunder the rich booty which was resigned to their depredations. The clamour of discontent was now changed to the acclamations of gratitude, and the servile poets of the times recorded the praises of this illustrious intruder. Shairachu was now at an age when the edge of the passions is blunted, and the excesses of the most vicious usually terminate in necessary temperance. It is said, however,

that the powers of his conſtitution ſurvived the ordinary date, and that he died during a debauch, two months and five days after his ſucceſſion to the Vizirate.

We are now introduced to a character which ſupports the higheſt rank in the annals of the biographer. Saladin had ſupported the ſecond ſituation in the Syrian army at a very early age, and being expoſed by his uncle to the dangers of war, had ſtudied under the ſame leader the wary policy of an experienced general. He had acquired reputation in Africa by his gallant defence of the city of Alexandria; and after the death of his uncle, no competitor dared to conteſt with him the ſucceſſion to the Vizirate, to which the late practice had given him a ſort of hereditary claim. He had abandoned his father, whom he reverenced, and the reſt of his family, whom he dearly loved, to acquire fame in a new kingdom, which, from having been the ſovereign of Syria, had become its dependant. The Emir of Damaſcus was no longer the vaſſal of the court of Cairo, but the ancient honours of the Caliphat were lowered before the ſuperior fortunes of Noro'ddin. Saladin aſcended to the dignity of the Vizirate, as one bold ſtep to the more elevated diſtinctions to which his ſoul ardently aſpired. Some oppoſition was made to his appointment; but thoſe who would be ſatisfied by no other means, he found expedients to ſilence by the vaſt treaſures of his uncle; and both the gentleneſs of his manners, and the ener-

getic virtues of his heart, made him the favourite of the army, of the court, and of the ſovereign. No one wiſhed to controul that authority which was conſtantly exerciſed for the public good, and he attained the ſummit of power, and, what was more agreeable to his nature, the univerſal approbation of the country over which he preſided. It is true, a few diſappointed negroes, who had been arrayed in the tinſel of ſtate, and had received the miſtaken confidence of their prince, made a feeble oppoſition to his authority: theſe he ſoon reduced to obedience, and placed a ſtrong garriſon in the caſtle of Cairo to prevent the diſturbance of the capital by any future inſurrection.

The young Saladin had hitherto confined himſelf almoſt excluſively to the operations of war; he had now to conſider the arts of peace, and the maxims of policy adopted amongſt rival nations. The Caliph being loſt in the indulgencies of the ſeraglio, was forgotten in the midſt of his own capital, and Saladin was not only the repreſentative, but the ſource of power. Noro'ddin, his maſter, from the governor of Damaſcus, had riſen to the higheſt dignity as an eaſtern ſovereign, and he now looked over the fair vale of Egypt as a part of his own empire. It is probable, from this early period, that the new Vizir formed the deſign of the complete ſubjugation of Egypt, under the government of his own race; but whatever were his deſigns, he paid the moſt ſcrupulous attention to the commands of the Syrian. The

family of Saladin was eſtabliſhed at Damaſcus. His firſt object was, to withdraw them from the power of Noro'ddin: he was now ſettled in Egypt, where he had not only important, but permanent duties to perform: he had every means of providing for the dignified introduction of his relations into the capital, and of providing for their future enjoyment; and he muſt wholly reſign the pleaſures of domeſtic intercourſe, and the advantage of parental advice, unleſs they were brought near his perſon. Theſe circumſtances he artfully repreſented to the virtuous Noro'ddin, who knew well how to reſpect the ties of friendſhip and of blood. His aged father, Noſomo'ddin Agub, and the reſt of his family, left Damaſcus with the permiſſion of their prince, and entered Egypt like the Arabian patriarch in ſacred hiſtory, under the auguſt protection of their exalted relative.

In the year 1169 (Hegira 565) the intercourſe between the Aſiatic and African court had continued on the moſt friendly terms, and an event occurred which ſhewed the importance of Saladin's connections to the people he governed. Hitherto the Vizir had been nominated from among the ſlaves of the Caliph, and could pretend to no foreign connections but what he derived immediately from the influence of the Egyptian court. Saladin poſſeſſed a friend totally independent of the controul of the empire, whoſe authority extended from the waters of the Mediterranean, to the lonely walls of the Euphrates, and

from the ſhores of that river, to the hills that overhang the brawling cataracts of the Tigris. The Franks, who had been the alternate enemies and friends of the court of Cairo, loſing all hope of alliance when the repreſentative of Noro'ddin held the reins of government, determined, if poſſible, to extirpate this new intruder, before whom they had ſo lately fled beneath the walls of Cairo, and whoſe rapid progreſs had deprived them of nine hundred thouſand dinars, the price of their retreat. They therefore attacked Damietta. This ancient and celebrated town of Africa has, by ſome writers, been conſidered the Peluſium of that period: it is ſeated at one of the eaſtern mouths of the river Nile, and is about 125 Engliſh miles to the north-eaſt of the city of Alexandria. For fifty-two days it was cloſely beſieged by the enemy. To divert the Franks from this enterprize, Noro'ddin had only to attack the ſettlements of the enemy, on the borders of Syria, which drew their countrymen immediately from the ſouthern coaſt of the Mediterranean, to protect their Aſiatic friends from ſo formidable an antagoniſt. The ſpirit of enterprize which glowed in the breaſt of Saladin, would not admit him to remain, amidſt the feſtivities of his ſeraglio, to receive meſſengers from the court of Damaſcus with the news of the event. He croſſed the ſea, obtained from the hands of the Syrian chief an important command, taught the Franks a leſſon of ſubmiſſion to his power, and not until the campaign was concluded with theſe

ſavage tribes, returned to receive the reſpect and gratitude of the Caliph and his people, and the congratulations of the Ayuban family.

Although it is rather the buſineſs of the polemic than the hiſtorian to relate the ſchiſms that ariſe among the nations which are the ſubjects of his narrative, yet, where an intimate connection ſubſiſts between the religious opinions and the political tranſactions of the governments, it is not always eaſy to exclude theſe controverſial ſubjects without rendering the diſcuſſions of the annaliſt incomplete. The learned reader is acquainted with the matters in difference between the Chriſtians of the Latin and Greek church, and he knows the important national events which were connected with thoſe opinions. Two ſects of no leſs notoriety aroſe under the Mahometan creed; yet, while the religious diſcord of the Chriſtians has in a great meaſure ſubſided with the dawning light of philoſophy, the conteſt of the friends and enemies of Ali has been revived in every age, and is maintained to our own time, in the mortal hatred of the Perſians and the Turks. The endeavours Saladin employed to change the religion of his new government, affords us an opportunity we are reluctantly conſtrained to embrace, of explaining the ſchiſm which led to the extinction of the Fatemite family. It was one of the artifices that ſagacious youth employed to diminiſh the public reſpect for the race of its founder, Obeida' Uah, which for nearly three centuries had increaſed,

notwithſtanding the imbecility of his repreſentatives. This ſchiſm had acquired ſtrength in the court of Bagdad at the commencement of the tenth century; and the ſeveral partizans are diſtinguiſhed by the appellations of Shiites and Sonnites. The former, in common with the other members of the Mahometan faith, admit Mahomet to be the delegate of God; but of the four Caliphs who reſembled the great patriarchs of the Jewiſh faith, and the apoſtles of the Chriſtian, they aſſigned the higheſt rank to Ali, the huſband of Fatima. The Sonnites, on the contrary, although they reſpect the memory of the four ſacred ſucceſſors of the prophet, yet they aſſigned the loweſt place to the huſband of Fatima. What were the comparative merits of theſe venerable ſucceſſors of Mahomet, is not material to our ſubject; but the revolutions ſuch differences of opinion occaſioned, and the cauſes which led to them, muſt not be neglected by the correct and faithful hiſtorian. It is probable that Noro'ddin and Saladin, during the viſit of the latter at Damaſcus, conſulted on the moſt effectual means of deſtroying the influence of the Caliph; the one to make Egypt a province of Syria—the other to raiſe himſelf to an independent throne on the ruins of the Fatemite dynaſty. We have had frequent occaſion to mention the Abbaſſides of Bagdad: both this family and the two Syrians were zealous Sonnites; they conſidered the perſuaſion of the Shiites as heretical, a ſect which had been eſtabliſhed all over Egypt

by the Caliphs, and the existence of whose authority depended on its prevalence. Saladin, on his return, undertook a scheme which no former Vizir would have dared to attempt. He endeavoured to impress the infant mind with the opinions of the Sonnites, avowedly the enemies of the Egyptian Caliph, and raised in the capital of the empire two public edifices, where the rebellious youth were to be instructed in the heresy of the Abbassides. This bold step excited general dissatisfaction, and nothing can place in a more striking point of view the supineness of the government of the people, under the last of the Fatemites, than their submission on this occasion. It will scarcely be believed by future generations, that while the authority of the Caliph was acknowledged—while the royal turban yet encircled his temples, and the scarlet sandal ennobled his steps, the language of rebellion was heard with patience within the walls of his palace, and public devotions were performed in honour of his enemy on the throne of Bagdad. The ninth Caliph of Egypt did not long survive this public degradation. It was evident he was now completely within the power of his foes, and a slight and single blow was sufficient to cut the feeble thread of life. If we do not accuse Saladin of this act, and if we attribute to the ordinary course of nature the death of the Caliph, it is because contemplating the virtues of the Syrian emigrant we reluctantly attribute to him the practices of the dark assassin, whatever temptations ambition

might propoſe. The hypocritical prayers that were offered for the preſervation of the Caliph of Bagdad, in the moſques of Cairo, did not prevail at the throne of heaven. The Arabian writers inform us, that theſe two venerable ſhades of departing greatneſs died within a few days of each other, in the year 1170, and the 566th of the Mahometan æra. Thus ended the Fatemite dynaſty, after a continuance of 271 years, more than two centuries of which period the princes had occupied Cairo, and maintained the dominion of Egypt.

Saladin was now thrown into a new ſituation, in which all the powers of his ardent mind were required to remove the obſtructions to his progreſs. He had diſpoſed of the family and dependants of the deceaſed Caliph, not indeed in that ſanguinary ſpirit in which moſt of his predeceſſors in office would have conducted themſelves, but he had removed them from the ſteps of the throne, and cruſhed every hope of their aſcending to its awful ſeat. The Vizir had ſucceeded, by the influence of his unlimited power, to the accumulated wealth of the late ſovereign, and he looked forward to the north and to the ſouth, along the luxuriant valley of the Nile, as the realms of his future empire. He had two difficulties to encounter, which were ſufficient to diſcourage an ordinary mind. He was an avowed ſectary of the Sonnite faith, and all the Egyptians were of the contrary perſuaſion, from ſentiments which they had derived from their

fathers, and had been rooted to the ſoil for two hundred years. The other ſource of his embaraſſment was the gigantic power of Noro'ddin, who had always treated him as the ſlave of his authority, and who would avail himſelf of any inſurrection among the Egyptians, either from a religious cauſe, or any other, to hurl this towering vaſſal from his ſeat. The policy of Saladin had placed his father, and his numerous family and friends, in the moſt important offices of the ſtate. The gallantry of his character, and the exceſs of his liberality, had made a friend of every ſoldier in the Egyptian armies. His bounty had been diſplayed to the more mercenary Shiites in the vicinity of the capital, but the treaſures of all the courts of the eaſt muſt have been exhauſted to ſatisfy the avaricious demands of every diſcontented ſectary in a populous kingdom. Nothing ſeemed more deſirable than to diſcover ſome general object to which the public attention might be directed, as a common cauſe, and which at the ſame time would divert the jealous eye of Noro'ddin. The Franks were a common enemy, and the Syrian chief, both from policy and religion, longed for their deſtruction. Saladin, inſtructed by the able counſels of his father, proclaimed a religious war againſt the Chriſtians, declaring his deſign of not only driving them from the frontiers of Egypt, but expelling them, in conjunction with the prince of Damaſcus, from the confines of Syria. Saladin proceeded with the utmoſt rapidity

to the execution of his deſign; he tranſported his troops to the fortreſs of Shawbeck, but while he hung with the Egyptian armies over the territories of Syria, the mind of Noro'ddin, which had been wounded by his falſe views of the integrity of the eunuch, could not avoid being ſuſpicious of the deſigns of this young hero from his own court. Under this uncertainty, he in ſome degree mortified the pride of Saladin by the menacing airs he aſſumed, and the tone of authority he affected. Yet, by the advice of his father, the Egyptian governor ſubmitted to this haughty deportment, in all the public acts of his high office; but he would ſometimes declare, in the private circle of his friends,—"We are now above fear and obedience, and the threats of Noro'ddin ſhall not extort the tribute of a ſugar-cane."

His ſelf-confidence was a little ſhaken in the ſequel. The proſecution of his politic ſcheme for diverting the attention, and engroſſing the zeal of the religious ſectaries of Egypt, had induced him to undertake a ſecond expedition to Syria, for the attack of the ſame fortreſs, and for the capture of Cairac. The jealouſy of Noro'ddin was now ſo tumultuous in his boſom, that he meditated the deſtruction of Saladin. When the latter arrived in Syria, he was making immenſe preparations for a hoſtile deſcent upon Egypt. Noro'ddin had carefully concealed his real deſign; he conſidered theſe frequent viſitations from Egypt not only dangerous to the repoſe of his government, but

to the exiſtence of his authority. He ordered Saladin to quit Aſia, in his uſual ſtyle of menace, to which the Vizier, from early life, had been accuſtomed to ſubmit. The Syrian had now thrown off the maſk, and was on the point of invading Egypt with his powerful armaments. Even the heroic ſpirit of Saladin was agitated by vulgar fears: he knew how to reſiſt an enemy, but he dreaded the hoſtility of a friend.—At this critical time the angina put a period to the life of Noro'ddin; and whatever impreſſions of concern might affect the mind of Saladin from private affection, he had reaſon to rejoice in this event, which preſerved the lives of thouſands of his countrymen, and of the ſubjects of his power.

The ſucceſſor of Noro'ddin was equally diſpoſed to carry into execution the deſigns of the deceaſed Syrian, but had not equal ability to fulfil them. The reverence Noro'ddin had attracted from his ſubjects, and the confidence his good fortune had inſpired, could not be transferred with the ſceptre he bequeathed.—Saladin was, however, incompetent, with the troops of Egypt, to meet the hardy veterans, who had ſo often made the waters of the Euphrates and the Tigris bluſh with the ſhame of their enemies. Shut out from the north and from the weſt, he looked to the ſouth and to the eaſt for a place of ſecurity, in caſe the Syrian ſhould take poſſeſſion of Cairo. The Nile, which has its ſource at the foot of a lofty mountain of Goyam, in the extenſive regions of Abyſſinia, takes

a wide circuit in that country, and again returns towards its original ſpring; it paſſes through the vaſt lake of Dambia, is almoſt loſt among the rocks, and then hurries onward to Nubia in its progreſs to the Mediterranean. On this kingdom Saladin had fixed his wiſhes, as an addition to his empire, if he maintained the dominion of Egypt; or a place of retreat, if the Syrian forces ſhould wreſt it from his power. His brother was therefore appointed to the command of an army, with orders to take poſſeſſion of that country. The extenſive deſart of Bahouda preſented its barren ſands to the luxurious army of Turanſhah, and the prince returned, diſcouraged by the ſterility, and diſguſted by the inhoſpitality, of the country, without effecting any thing worthy the name of the family of Ayub. Saladin next turned his attention to Arabia Felix, the natural ſoil of the Prophet. Here he found leſs difficulty: the Emir Abd'alnabi made a ſhort and ineffectual reſiſtance, and he was the acknowledged Sultaun of this fertile eaſtern kingdom, although he had not yet pretended to aſſume the ſame dignity on the throne of Egypt.



CHAP. III.

The eſtabliſhment of the Ayubite dynaſty in Egypt, and the hiſtory of the Princes of that houſe to the revolution effected by the Mamalukes in the middle of the ſixteenth century.

HITHERTO the moderation of Saladin had decreaſed the number of his enemies, and enlarged the circle of his friends; his integrity as a magiſtrate, his gallantry as a ſoldier, and his affability as a companion, were calculated to command reſpect in public, and attachment in private life. A new world of ambition was now opening before him; and, to his comprehenſive mind, aſcending the throne of the Caliphs of Egypt was but a ſmall ſtep to the elevation he contemplated. He now therefore ventured to aſſume the royal authority; but he changed the title of the ſovereignty from the Caliph to the Sultan. The term *Caliph* in the Arabic language denotes ſucceſſor, and could alone be applicable to thoſe who aſſumed the diſtinction of the lineal deſcendants of the Prophet. The word *Sultan** ſignifies lord and maſter, and was firſt employed in the eaſt by Mahmud the Gaznevide, a hero whom Saladin probably propoſed for his own imitation; and who, without Ariſtotle for his maſter,

* The Byzantine writers employ the terms Αυτοκρατωρ, Βαοιλευς, Βαοιλεων: and Σελτανος is frequently uſed by the Greeks, after it had been invented by the Gaznevides.

Pelides for his model, or Curtius for his hiſtorian, performed greater deeds of valour and conqueſt than the hero of Macedon. It was not likely that the prieſts, and their diſciples, ſhould ſubmit patiently to this extraordinary revolution. Accuſtomed to indulge the feelings of reſentment againſt the ſect of the Abbaſſades, they were prepared to gratify the ſame enmity againſt the deſpoiler of the Fatimites. A dreadful conſpiracy was formed for the deſtruction of the Sultan. Fortunately the wiſdom of his father had facilitated the means of information, and the encouragement given to the Sonnites, had occaſioned the diſtribution of the prieſts of that perſuaſion in various diſtricts of the capital, who were uſeful ſpies on the public conduct. In the year 1173 (Hegira 569) the plot was diſcovered, and was followed by the moſt dreadful executions. The croſs and the faggot were employed, and thoſe inſtruments of cruelty which deface and mangle the human form in the agonies of death, more ſuited to inſpire terror, than to produce repentance. Theſe ſavage practices were to be attributed to the timid and revengeful minds of the Sonnite prieſts, and not to the bold and generous ſpirit of the Sultan Saladin. The malcontents truſted no longer to ſecret conſpiracy. Turanſhah had already viſited Upper Egypt in his progreſs to Nubia, and had returned with ſome diſgrace from that country; not for any miſconduct, but for the ill ſucceſs of the expedition. If therefore an unfavourable impreſ-

ſion remained in any part of the country on the meaſures of his government, it was in theſe ſouthern diſtricts of his dominions. Kanz was at this time governor of Aſſovan, in that region. It is inhabited by a ſwarthy tribe, who were accuſtomed to the inclemencies of the vaſt deſarts of the Thebais. Saladin again diſmiſſed his brother, who returned more fortunate from this ſouthern expedition than he had done from the former. The inſurgents fled to their arid ſolitude before his victorious troops, and their commander fell in the field of battle.

The Franks took advantage of theſe diviſions in the new kingdom of Saladin: William the Second, King of Sicily, attended by a numerous fleet, and ſupported by a powerful army, beſieged the city of Alexandria. The Sultan, who had been inſtructed in the advantage of promptitude in military operations by his uncle Shairacuh, haſtened by forced marches from Cairo to Alexandria, as he had before done from that city to the capital. His unexpected approach occaſioned William to abandon his enterpriſe, leaving all his ſtores and engines of war in the poſſeſſion of the Mahometan.

We muſt now leave the territory of Egypt, to take a view of the progreſs of Saladin, in the career of victory, in thoſe countries which received the hoſts of Europe for the proſecution of the holy war. While the Caliphs continued in the poſſeſſion of the ſacred land, the Chriſtian pilgrims who reſorted to Jeruſa-

lem brought into their dominions gold and silver, and carried nothing from them but wood and bone, in the form of consecrated relics. With this exchange the sovereign, and the Emirs who depended on him, were sufficiently satisfied; but when the Turks began to take possession of Syria, they carried with them into that country all the zeal of new sectaries, and the pilgrims were exposed to the greatest distresses, which, on their return to Europe to the several kingdoms of which they were natives, they told to their countrymen with all the zeal of the persecuted, and with a little of the aggravation of the traveller.—"When the minds of men were thus prepared, (says the eloquent Scottish historian) the zeal of a fanatical monk, who conceived the idea of leading all the forces of Christendom against the infidels, and of driving them out of the Holy Land with violence, was sufficient to give a beginning to that wild enterprize. Peter the Hermit, for that was the name of this martial apostle, ran from province to province, with a crucifix in his hand, exciting princes and people to this holy war, and wherever he came, kindled the same enthusiastic ardour for it with which he himself was animated. The council of Placentia, where upwards of thirty thousand persons were assembled, pronounced the scheme to have been suggested by the immediate inspiration of heaven. In the council of Clermont, still more numerous, as soon as the measure was proposed, all cried out with one voice, "It is the will of God."

Perſons of rank were ſmitten with the contagion: not only the gallant nobles of that age, with their martial followers, whom the boldneſs of a romantic enterprize might have been apt to allure, but men in the more humble and pacific ſtations of life; eccleſiaſtics of every order, and even women and children, engaged in an undertaking which was deemed ſacred and meritorious. If we may believe the concurring teſtimony of contemporary authors, ſix millions of perſons aſſumed the croſs, which was the badge that diſtinguiſhed ſuch as devoted themſelves to this holy warfare. All Europe, ſays the Princeſs Anna Comnena, torn up from the foundation, ſeemed ready to precipitate itſelf in one united body upon Aſia. Nor did the fumes of this enthuſiaſtic zeal evaporate at once: the frenzy was as laſting as it was extravagant. During two centuries, Europe ſeems to have had no object but to recover or keep poſſeſſion of the Holy Land, and through that period vaſt armies continued to march thither." The Sultan was not long content with the poſſeſſion of Egypt. After various ſucceſs, he added Syria to Egypt and Arabia, and before his death extended his empire from Barbary to the Tigris, and from the Indian ocean to the heights of Armenia. In 1179, he firſt impreſſed the cruſaders with the conviction of his ſuperiority, by the celebrated victory he obtained on the 10th of April in that year. Three years afterwards he beſieged and took Damaſcus; and during the ſucceeding five, he obtained ma-

ny important victories over the Chriſtians, which terminated in the capture of the holy city. Egypt, Syria, and Arabia, forgetting the diſtinctions of Ali and his competitors, had been united under a leader capable of ſupporting the honour of the Mahometan cauſe. Guy of Luſignan, a weak prince, had been raiſed to the throne of Jeruſalem, and the Chriſtians under his command were collected on the ſhores of the river Jordan. The nominal cauſe of the hoſtilities was the conduct of Reginald of Chattillon, who had committed ſome trifling depredations; the real cauſe was the utter deteſtation in which the Chriſtians were held by the Mahometans, after a ſeries of unprovoked injuries for nearly a century, by which the powers of the weſtern princes were rapidly exhauſted. Saladin remonſtrated on theſe acts of violence by Reginald, and being denied the juſtice he demanded, he bore down upon the ſacred territory, with eighty thouſand troops under his command. The firſt place he attempted was Tiberias. The Chriſtians haſtened to meet this audacious aſſailant, headed by the King of the Holy City, and accompanied by the Biſhop of Ptolemais, bearing a ſword under the robes of his ſacred profeſſion, and ſuſtaining on his ſhoulders a croſs, which his credulous followers believed was the inſtrument of death to the great founder of the Chriſtian faith. A dreadful battle enſued, Luſignan was taken priſoner, thirty thouſand men were ſlain, and the awful burthen of the Biſhop fell into the hands of

the infidels. The mind of Luſignan had never felt the magnanimous ſentiments which triumphed in the breaſt of Saladin. He was conducted to the tent of the Sultan, and expected the mandate of death.—The conqueror with his own hand preſented a cup to Luſignan, as an indication of his friendſhip. Luſignan, after he had partaken of its contents, delivered it to Reginald, his fellow priſoner. It was an inviolable cuſtom of the Mahometans, not to put to death any priſoner who has eaten or drunken with the permiſſion of the conqueror in his preſence. This ancient rite of hoſpitality could not be infringed by the generous Saladin. Reginald had perfidiouſly broken his engagements, and Saladin had ſworn to puniſh him for his treachery. He forced the cup from the hand of Reginald, and drawing his ſcymetar, ſtruck off his head with one blow, ſhewing to the trembling Luſignan that he equally knew how to puniſh and to pardon.

The royal captive was ſent to Damaſcus, where he ſuffered a ſhort confinement, and where every reſpect was paid to his rank and to his ſufferings. Three months after the battle of Tiberias, Saladin arrived with his victorious troops at the gates of Jeruſalem, where Sybilla, the conſort of Luſignan, was in no condition to oppoſe his arms. The king had been perſuaded to drain his garriſons; and the ancient city being left without defenders, Saladin ſoon obliged the inhabitants to ſurrender. The clemency of his cha-

racter is ſhewn by his conduct on this memorable occaſion. An honourable capitulation was granted to the unfortunate Queen: ſhe was conducted to no priſon, and expoſed to no violence. Luſignan was her ſecond huſband, and it was probable the charms of her perſon had diſappeared; but the roſy hue and tranſparent form of virgin beauty in an infidel, would have been no temptation to the temperate Mahometan.—She was permitted to leave the city, and to ſeek any aſylum ſhe preferred. Contrary to the practice of that barbarous period, the victor exacted no ranſom from the Greek inhabitants. It was impoſſible that the humanity of Saladin ſhould not inſpire confidence among thoſe whom the chance of war had rendered the ſlaves of his power. When he entered the gates of the ſacred city, the timid inhabitants did not endeavour to conceal themſelves from his awful preſence, for he had acquired and deſerved the affections of the vanquiſhed. The women ruſhed into the ſtreets of Jeruſalem, proſtrated themſelves at the feet of the conqueror, and implored the ſurrender of their huſbands, their children, and their parents, who were among the captives of his train. Saladin inſtantly commanded their liberation: the wretched captives, thus manumitted by the Sultan, haſtened to the embrace of the fair ſupplicants, and joined the general acclamations of praiſe to their auguſt deliverer.

The moſque of the city had been profaned by its convertion into a Chriſtian church. One of the firſt

objects of his attention was to restore to the prophet this hallowed edifice: perfumes were employed for its purification, and a magnificent throne was erected within its precincts. On the lofty porch was engraven the following words: "King Saladin, the servant of the Most High, ordered this inscription to be raised, after God had taken Jerusalem by this humble instrument of his power."

His next concern was to establish seminaries for the Mahometan youth; but, notwithstanding his zealous attachment to the religion of his fathers, he resigned to the eastern Christians the church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Patriarch of Jerusalem had collected the images, the vases, and the crosses, with a view to convey them to the Christian powers. Saladin did not permit such trophies of Christian idolatry to be so easily withdrawn. Richard of England, however, purchased these fragments, at the enormous sum of fifty thousand byzants of gold, and the treasurer of the conqueror gladly received the ransom.

The successes of Saladin had produced a general consternation among the crusaders. Cour de Lion had not yet ascended the throne of England, whose tremendous name, we are told, was employed by the Syrian mothers to awe to silence their clamourous offspring. Clement the Third had been just advanced to the honours of the tiara, and was anxious to move heaven and earth to stop the progress of the daring infidel. Philip Augustus, who at that time reigned

over the French, ſuppreſſed his jealouſy of the Engliſh crown, and ſeconded the meaſures of the indignant Pontiff. It was agreed in both the territories of theſe princes, that the third cruſade ſhould be ſupported with equal vigour as the preceding; that as the inclination to abandon the weſt for the glorious purpoſe had become leſs active, thoſe who would not make the ſacrifice to the public good in their perſons, ſhould do it in their fortune. A tax of one-tenth (which, to the honour of the proweſs of the enemy, was called the Dixme Saladin) was enacted on the whole property of thoſe who preferred the indulgencies of inaction to the glorious dangers of the war. Frederic the Firſt, Emperor of Germany, ſurnamed Barbaroſſa, (who was equally notorious for the perſecutions he had endured from the Popes, and the calamities to which he expoſed his perſecutors) at this time joined the common cauſe. He was a fit adverſary for the hero of the creſcent; a polite ſtateſman and ſkilful commander, tried in the ſchool of diſcipline, and he conducted into the field one hundred and fifty thouſand combatants. He had noticed in the former expeditions that a mercenary ſpirit had crept among the religious of the armies, and that many had crowded the camps to feed on the wealth of their companions in arms, inſtead of ſtarving in indigence at home: he therefore made it an expreſs condition, that no cruſader ſhould be received into the army who did not bring with him, in ready mo-

ney, one hundred and fifty franks. Saladin, at this time, entered into an alliance with the court of Conſtantinople. The Greek church had been too long haraſſed by the zealots of the Latin, not to wiſh to be ſupported by ſo powerful a friend, and whatever diſguſt the connection might give to their Chriſtian brethren, it was founded on neceſſity, and juſtified by the event. Frederic, with this new enemy before him, undertook this formidable expedition. He opened a paſſage into Thrace, ſword in hand, to which the eaſtern Emperor Iſaac made an ineffectual reſiſtance. After this conqueſt, he defeated, in two engagements, the Sultan of Cogni. But he was ſoon after checked in the career of victory by the hand of death. Bathing in a ſmall ſtream, while in a violent perſpiration, occaſioned the event. The obſtructions he had met with are attributed to the policy of Saladin, and all his conqueſts were rendered unproductive. Of the immenſe army he conducted to the field, only ſeven or eight thouſand Germans remained under the command of his ſon, the Duke of Suabia, who was in no condition, without reinforcements, to keep the field.

After Guy of Luſignan had been a year in priſon, he obtained his liberty on the expreſs condition that he ſhould never again bear arms againſt the Sultan, and this engagement he confirmed with his oath. Whether the Holy Pontiff, who aſſumes the authority to forgive ſin, releaſed him from this ſolemn ob-

ligation; we are not informed; certain it is, that at this time he was preparing to attack Saladin in the neighbourhood of Antioch, whither the Duke of Suabia conducted the ſad remnants of the army of Barbaroſſa. The young Duke, inſtead of returning to the weſtern empire, to which he was entitled, imitated the zeal of his father, and loſt his life in the vicinity of Ptolomais, but not in the field of battle; and ſome writers have contended he fell a martyr to the chaſtity of his habits.

Not only this immenſe army of Frederic was reduced, but the fleets of England, France, Italy, and Germany, were ſcattered and deſtroyed. Richard Plantagenet aſcended the throne of England, and the holy ſervice was continued. While Saladin was engaged in hoſtilities on the ſhores of the Euphrates, three hundred thouſand troops, under the command of Philip Auguſtus, and Cœur de Lion, appeared before Ptolomais, which ſurrendered to their arms. The rival intereſts of France and England were evident in the differences which ſubſiſted between theſe two princes; there was, indeed, a material difference of character: in Richard the warrior, in Philip the ſtateſman, greatly predominated. The former ſaw with diſguſt the indifference of his ally in the common cauſe; the latter obſerved with envy the ſuperior reſpect Richard attracted in an enterprize in which ferocious valour was miſtaken for heroiſm. Wearied and diſappointed, Auguſtus returned to his

kingdom, which, says the historian, perhaps he ought never to have quitted, but having quitted it, he should have returned to it with more glory.

Richard now remained on the field of honour, but the hosts of Europe had been thinned by service, and disunited by faction. Saladin hastened with his victorious troops from Mesopotamia, and gave battle to the crusaders in the vicinity of Ceserea; and Richard had the honour of disarming Saladin, which was all the advantage he derived from this memorable expedition. In the sequel, a treaty was entered into, by which the Christians were permitted to enjoy in repose the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, from the port of Joppa to the city of Tyre, and Saladin fulfilled his engagements with his accustomed fidelity.

The Sultan did not long survive these events. In the year 1193, and 589 of the Mahometan epocha, to the great joy of the Christians, and the universal affliction of their enemies, he died at Damascus, in the 57th lunar year of his age. In his last illness he is said to have directed a shroud to be displayed instead of a standard, before the door of his apartment, with this remarkable inscription:—"Behold all that Saladin, conqueror of the east, retains of his victories." In the distribution of his property in his will, he recollected the distresses of the poor, but his bounty was displayed equally to Jews, Christians, and Mahometans; anxious to shew, by the last act of his life, that all mankind are brethren, and that we should succour

our fellow-creatures, not according to their creeds, but in proportion to their ſufferings.

Saladin, in his youth, was addicted to wine and women, but his aſpiring ſpirit ſoon renounced the temptations of pleaſure for the graver follies of fame and dominion: the garment of Saladin was coarſe woollen; water was his only drink; and, while he emulated the temperance, he ſurpaſſed the chaſtity of his Arabian prophet. Both in faith and practice he was a rigid Muſſulman; he ever deplored that the defence of religion had not allowed him to accompliſh the pilgrimage to Mecca; but at the ſtated hours, five times each day, the Sultan devoutly prayed with his brethren: the involuntary omiſſion of faſting was ſcrupulouſly repaid; and his peruſal of the Koran on horſeback, between the approaching armies, may be quoted as a proof, however oſtentatious, of piety and courage. The ſuperſtitious doctrine of the ſect of Shafei, was the only ſtudy that he deigned to encourage: the poets were ſafe in his contempt, but all profane ſcience was the object of his averſion; and a philoſopher, who had vented ſome ſpeculative novelties, was ſeized and ſtrangled by the command of the royal ſaint. The juſtice of his divan was acceſſible to the meaneſt ſuppliant againſt himſelf and his miniſters, and it was only for a kingdom that Saladin would deviate from the rule of equity. While the deſcendants of Seljuk and Zenghi held his ſtirrup and ſmoothed his garments, he was affable and

patient with the meaneſt of his ſervants. So boundleſs was his liberality, that he diſtributed twelve thouſand horſes at the ſiege of Acre; and, at the time of his death, no more than forty-ſeven drahms of ſilver and one piece of gold coin were found in the treaſury; yet, in a martial reign, the tributes were diminiſhed, and the wealthy citizens enjoyed without fear or danger the fruits of their induſtry. Egypt, Syria, and Arabia, were adorned by the royal foundations of hoſpitals, colleges, and moſques; and Cairo was fortified with a wall and citadel; but his works were conſecrated to public uſe, nor did the Sultan indulge himſelf in a garden or palace of private luxury. In a fanatic age, himſelf a fanatic, the genuine virtues of Saladin commanded the eſteem of the Chriſtians. The Emperor of Germany gloried in his friendſhip; the Greek Emperor ſolicited his alliance; and the conqueſt of Jeruſalem diffuſed, and perhaps magnified, his fame both in the eaſt and weſt*.

The loſs of this extraordinary prince was not eaſily to be ſupplied.

AL MALEK AL ADEL,

His eldeſt ſon, aſcended the throne of his empire, and affords one of thoſe numerous inſtances of the utter difference of character between the parent and his offspring. Perhaps the active public duties in which Saladin was engaged, of a political nature, prevented the poſſibility of his fulfilling all the offices of the parental character; or perhaps the beſt men in ſuch exalted ſitu-

* Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.—Chap. 59.

ations, are often the worſt fathers: indulgent and unſuſpicious, their children are abandoned to the flattery of their attendants, and the vices and weakneſſes of a luxurious court. The young prince received the homage of the grandees at the court of Damaſcus; required the cuſtomary ſubmiſſion from the different members of the Ayubite family in the ſeveral governments to which they were appointed, and an expreſs was ſent for the ſame purpoſe to the moſt powerful of the family, Al Azir Othman, who had the ſupreme command in Egypt. Almoſt the only diſtinction between a wiſe and a fooliſh prince, with which his people are nearly concerned, is the prudence of the one, and the indiſcretion of the other, in the appointment of officers for the adminiſtration of public affairs. Saladin, at the time of his death, was the acknowledged ſovereign of Syria and Meſopotamia, of Egypt and Arabia Felix. The ſubjects of his vaſt empire could have little immediate concern with the perſon of the monarch; they knew their prince alone through the medium of his officers, and on the virtues and vices of theſe depended their happineſs or miſery. Al Malek Al Adel might have ſhut himſelf up within the walls of his ſeraglio, and might have abandoned himſelf to every exceſs of impiety and madneſs, without any material detriment, if he had admitted the ſame officers to continue in power who had aſſiſted his father in his government. It is true, that the influence of ſuch a prince as Saladin to preſerve the integrity of

his governors, muſt have been conſiderable; they knew his will, and they dared not to diſobey it; yet the Sultan, prior to his death, had maintained the abſolute command, either in his ſubordinate or ſupreme capacity, for nearly thirty years, and the profound maxims of his policy had become habitual, and were not to be ſubverted by trifling cauſes.

The firſt ſtep of Al Malek Al Adel was deciſive of his fate: he ſelected a new Vizir from the minions of his court; the public ſervants, who had ſo long ſupported the dignity of his father, by adhering to the ſage and benevolent maxims of his policy, were ſent home to their private eſtates, to excite diſcontents among the people, and a ſet of new miniſters were appointed, who had other intereſts to purſue. The new prince was peculiarly addicted to thoſe vices which prevented his appearance in public life as the friend and father of his people, a character which his predeceſſor had ſo long preſerved: he was incloſed within his palace, ſerved by obſequious ſlaves, and cajoled by artful women, while the placemen of his court were endeavouring to blind his eyes to the ſituation of his people, and to erect their own proſperity on the ruins of public virtue and public right. Al Azir, his brother, was equally unworthy the parent from whoſe loins he ſprung. Under pretence of aſſiſting at the funeral of his father, he had viſited Damaſcus, but his real deſign was to feel the pulſe of the people, and to prepare the way for his future aggrandizement

by the ſacrifice of every fraternal duty. On his return to Egypt, the leaders of that country were perfectly acquainted with his intentions, and completely diſpoſed to co-operate with him. The hiſtorian muſt now conſider him as the ſovereign of the Nile; a ſituation his brother permitted him to hold without the ſmalleſt oppoſition. Drunk with enjoyment, amid the diſſipation and riot of his court, he was never awake for the protection of his own honour. It will ſcarcely be believed by thoſe not accuſtomed to eſtimate the exceſſes of the loweſt paſſions, when they take complete hold of the youth in the plethora of life, that Al Malek Al Adel admitted the uſurper of Egypt to devote two years to hoſtile preparations, and to negociate an alliance with his uncle, Abu Bekr, prince of Al Caraf, for the expreſs purpoſe of invading him in his own dominions. The two allies rolled onward like a ſtorm approaching from two different directions, then hung over the devoted city, and burſt upon it. Al Adel, in this ſtate of intoxication, was driven from his capital, to expoſe his folly and diſgrace in ſome new region.

Between the two brothers there was ſome difference in favour of the Syrian prince; Al Azir, with all the deformity of ſenſual vice, added the leſs venial crime of avarice. Al Adel gained the ſocial friend by his condeſcenſion and generoſity, while Azir could neither fulfil the duties of public nor private life. He had reigned about five years, when death terminated

his vices and his life. In the year 1198, and 595 of the Hegira, his ſon,

AL MANSUR,

A child of nine years old, ſucceeded to the throne of Egypt. Al Aſdal, the ally of his father, was invited to undertake the regency, which he accepted during the minority of the prince, and his arrival in Cairo gave general ſatisfaction to the people.

Before this time Al Adel had awakened from his torpor to ſome ſenſe of political duty, and had been reinſtated in Damaſcus. Al Aſdal had noticed in the former invaſion of Azir, the advantages of Aſiatic connections; he at this time was anxious to renew the war, and formed an alliance for that purpoſe with his brother Al Dhaher, prince of Aleppo, who poſſeſſed great power. They commenced the attack with the ſiege of Damaſcus, where Abu Bekr had been ſo ſucceſsful before, and by the recapture of which, and the prudent meaſures he projected, he might totally ſubvert the empire of his brother Al Adel. But the new allies had a very different enemy to oppoſe; the prince of Damaſcus had been rouſed from his dream of ſecurity; the native energies of his character began to appear—the munificence of his conduct had engaged the affections of his vaſſals—the familiarity of his habits had enlarged the circle of his friends, and his foes met with a ſteady reſiſtance they were not prepared to expect. Before the brothers had made any conſiderable progreſs in the ſiege, a difference aroſe between them, which termi-

nated in a ſeparation. Al Dhaher abandoned the ſiege, and withdrew his army along the eaſtern coaſt of the Mediterranean to Antioch. The regent of Egypt, thus deſerted by his potent ally, having no adequate force to reduce the city, and there being no traitors within its walls to facilitate its acquiſition by ſtratagem, returned inglorious to Cairo. His popularity was conſiderably diminiſhed by the ill ſucceſs of this attempt, and a cloud was caſt over the ambitious view he had been accuſtomed to preſent to himſelf for the deſtruction of the young Sultan, and his own inveſtiture with the ſupreme authority.

Abu Bekr, the brother of Saladin, ſaw with malignant pleaſure the opulence of his nephews waſted in rival conteſts; he conducted himſelf with all the hypocritical policy of court intrigue, and, under the appearance of affection, alternately relieving the diſtreſſes of the one, and moderating the pride of the other, kept up the balance of power ſo equally, that neither party ſhould prevail, but that both ſhould gradually exhauſt each other's ſtrength. When he had continued this deception a ſufficient time, his firſt ſtep was to acquire poſſeſſion of Damaſcus, without exciting the ſuſpicions of Al Aſdal. When he had thus attained the direction of the Syrian forces, he proceeded to Egypt, when Al Aſdal had no ſuſpicion of his approach. He aſcended the ſhore, and advanced along the country to the very gates of the capital, without a ſingle enemy to oppoſe his progreſs. Cairo

was in no condition to reſiſt this formidable foe. Al Afdal, vexed with the diſappointment he had received before Damaſcus, and ſtupified by the interior obſtructions to his government amongſt the diſcontented Emirs, when Abu Bekr had remained before the city only eight days, ſigned a treaty in the name of Al Manſur, by which he transferred the regency to the conqueror, and retired to ſome provinces which were ceded to him, as a part of the condition of the ſurrender.

Abu Bekr was now cloathed with the honours of the regency, while his great nephew had the nominal ſupremacy in the empire. Abu Bekr waited ſome time before he declared his intentions. The aged politician was not ſufficiently acquainted with the character of the new Emirs who governed Egypt, to determine if they would reſign the hereditary rights of Al Manſur in his own favour. He had known the character of the Egyptian governors in early life, but another order of men had riſen into notice in ſociety, whoſe intereſts and purſuits were new to his obſervation. One way he had learnt of acquiring influence and reſpect, and of that he immediately availed himſelf. He diſtributed the wealth of the country among the leading characters, and then gratitude to their benefactor ſoon removed all inferior impediments to his deſign. But if the principal individuals of the ſtate were ſatisfied with the alienation of the ſovereignty into his hands, not having the ſame means of grati-

fying the great body of the people, he deluded them to his wishes by another expedient. The Moslem doctors were bribed and assembled in solemn council; and this venerable synod soon determined the question between fraternal and hereditary right; the artful

ABU BEKR

acceded to their decision, deposed his great nephew, and ascended the throne; so that, from about the year 1200, Hegira 597, this brother of Saladin is to be considered the Sultan of Egypt. It is not improbable that the progress of the western invaders induced the Egyptians at this time to avoid the feeble authority of a minor in the throne.

About two years prior to the event we have just noticed, preparations had been made in Europe for another crusade. Damietta had before been captured—Lower Egypt had been laid waste—Cairo had been ransomed at the price of a million of dinars. The Alexandrian vessels daily brought accounts from Venice of immense preparations at that port, for the reception of the hosts from western Europe. They were thus impressed with the sense of their former sufferings, and with the magnitude of the recent exertions of the common enemy; and if they were ignorant against what place the Christian force would be directed, they were anxious to be prepared for all events. The nomination of Abu Bekr, under these circumstances, appeared to them a prudent, if not a just measure; his continental connections gave

them a means of ſecurity they could not otherwiſe poſſeſs, and the brother of the heroic Saladin had more claims on their reſpect than the feeble current of his blood, preſerved in his deſcendant, but polluted in its paſſage by the deteſtable Azir.

About this time ambaſſadors arrived from Ethiopia at the city of Alexandria, that the patriarch might, as uſual, ſelect a metropolitan for the government of the churches of Upper Egypt. The people of thoſe extenſive regions, half Jews and half Chriſtians, acknowledged for their patriarch the Alexandrian chief, who was not of the ſame religion with either of them. John, the ſupreme of the church, diſmiſſed a legate to enquire into the monaſteries of the city and ſuburbs, to diſcover a perſon fit to diſcharge this important duty in the remote relations of his authority. The principal endeavour was, not to provide a a perſon, the ſanctity of whoſe manners, and the virtues of whoſe life, would render Chriſtianity reſpectable among the ſwarthy tribes of the ſouth, but to elect a dextrous politician, who might continue the dependence of the Coptic ſects in the ſee of Alexandria. The ambaſſadors were determined not to ſubmit to the delays to which the indeciſion of John expoſed them, they therefore haſtened from the coaſt to the capital, and applied to the Sultan to interpoſe his authority, that the churches of Abyſſinia might no longer ſuffer from the abſence of a metropolitan; informing the monarch, at the ſame time, to the diſgrace of the Alexandrian monkiſh inſtitutions, that

they contained no individual capable of fulfilling the ſacred duties in that diſtant ſettlement. Abu Bekr received the preſents of the Ethiopians, and acceded to their wiſhes. He named the Biſhop of Fuah, and commanded the patriarch of Alexandria to perform the uſual ceremonies for his inauguration. John reluctantly complied; it was in vain for the Chriſtian prieſt to argue with the Mahometan monarch, that the promotion from one eccleſiaſtical appointment to a higher, was inconſiſtent with the eſtabliſhed practice, and to the rubric of the Coptic church. The ſectaries of the Chriſtian church were all equally the ſubjects of his contempt, and were alone preſerved in his dominions by the tolerant ſpirit of the Mahometan faith. Both the Sultan and the Mooriſh ambaſſadors were glad of any occaſion to humble the inſolence of the Alexandrian patriarch, and the eccleſiaſtic Kylos gladly entered on his metropolitan office.

For about four years Kylos had received every mark of reſpect and ſubmiſſion from the Ethiopian Chriſtians, but in the ſucceeding year the motive for the compliance of the ambaſſadors with this new mode of election, was clearly explained. The Empreſs of Abyſſinia had a brother, who, at a very early age, had been made biſhop of Auxuma, and whom ſhe wiſhed to ſee inveſted with metropolitan rank. The nomination of the Biſhop of Fuah to that rank in Abyſſinia, was preciſely the precedent ſhe wiſhed to be eſtabliſhed. She artfully prevailed on Kylos to

consecrate this youth, and from that moment he was instructed to assume the metropolitan dignity. These intrigues had not been practised by the Empress merely from the views of family pride. The subtle Christians of the Thebais had long been anxious to throw off their dependence on the paler sons of the church in the northern regions. For two centuries it had been the maxim of the Fatemite Caliphs to disappoint their endeavours for this purpose. The Caliphs despised both them and their tenets, but would admit no change in the subordination of the southern sects, that might, in the event, disturb the repose of their government. This policy of the Caliphs was completely justified by the succeeding dissentions among the Christians of Egypt and Abissinia.

Whatever might be the feelings of John on the occasion, whether of pleasure or pain for the result of this irregular nomination, before the conclusion of five years the bishop of Fuah entered his palace at Alexandria, and assigned, as the reason of his precipitate return, that all the business of his metropolitan office was discharged by the bishop of Auxuma; that he was himself deserted by the priests of the country, and that an attempt had been made to get rid of him by assassination. Thus, no longer being able to fulfil his public duties, he fled from the scene of danger, and returned to the patriarch to resign the appointment into the hands from which he received it. Thus was the dependence of the Ethiopian church thrown

off by this inconſiderate interference of the Sultan, the extent of whoſe political duties were ſufficient to occupy his time and his talents, without intruding his authority amongſt the factious Chriſtians in his empire. The dominions of Abu Bekr were now nearly as extenſive as thoſe of his brother Saladin; his ambition was now no longer to make new conqueſts in his advanced period of life, the preſervation of what he already poſſeſſed requiring his utmoſt remaining activity. The Franks were eſtabliſhed on the coaſt of Syria, and were conſtantly threatening either his Aſiatic or his African dominions. The hardy tribes on the ſhores of the Tigris gazed with a covetous eye on the fertile plains of Meſopotamia, and he was actually engaged in a war in that remote part of his empire, when the Chriſtians made an attack upon Damietta, and not content with confining their operations to this ſiege, they proceeded into the country, where they committed the moſt ferocious exceſſes. Al Kamel, one of the Sultan's ſons, had been left regent of the kingdom during his father's Aſiatic expedition, he had advanced to reſiſt the Franks, but finding they had paſſed onward to the interior with ſome of their forces, he was obliged to abandon Damietta to its own reſources, to defend the empire, which was threatened with immediate danger. He uſed ſo much expedition, and was ſo ably ſupported by the Emirs of the country, who were attached to his perſon, that when the Franks came within the reach

of Cairo, they were aſtoniſhed at the fortifications which had been ſo ſuddenly raiſed for its defence. Their forces having been divided, as we have explained, they were in no condition to attempt the reduction of the city thus ſtrengthened; they therefore collected their booty, and returned to the mouths of the Nile, whither Al Kamel had no ſufficient force to purſue them, after the reduction he had ſuffered of his own numbers for the relief of Damietta. On their arrival at the coaſt, they diſcovered their friends had been unequal to the capture of Damietta; they now regretted the imprudent diviſion of their army, as all the reward they obtained for this formidable expedition, was the plunder they ſeized in thoſe parts of the country that were incapable of hoſtile reſiſtance. With this poor reward of their labours, they ſet ſail for Paleſtine.

During the whole time the Sultan had been obliged to continue in Meſopotamia. The ſucceſs with which Al Kamel, his regent, had acquitted himſelf on the late invaſion, entitled him to the confidence of his father: the former not only ſhewed himſelf capable of conducting the tranſactions of war, but of managing the more difficult affairs of peace; in the abſence of the Sultan new diviſions had ariſen among the Chriſtians, and the Mahometan Al Kamel was conſtantly regarded as the friend and mediator of all parties. The Abyſſinians had been afflicted by a drought—the friends of the biſhop of Auxuma had

abandoned his cauſe, and this painful viſitation of Providence was univerſally attributed to the treatment the conſecrated Kylos had received from the ſubjects of this metropolitan government. Reference was again had from Abyſſinia to the prince and to the patriarch, and the monk Iſaac was inaugurated for the ſolemn duties.

Soon after this period the Sultan ſtrengthened his continental connections by the marriage of his daughter with his nephew, Al Dhaher, King of Aleppo; and poſterior to this event, to the concluſion of his reign, no political tranſaction occurred that deſerves the ſmalleſt attention, excepting the acquiſition of Arabia Felix, with which he finiſhed his brilliant career. This fair kingdom, which extended from the ſouthern ſhore of the Red Sea, to the immenſe ſolitudes of the deſart, was added to his other vaſt poſſeſſions by the gallantry of his grandchild, the ſon of Al Kamel.

The interior diviſions, from the factions of the Chriſtian ſect, increaſed exceedingly toward the concluſion of his reign. It ſeems the patriarch John was not much attached to apoſtolic poverty; he was willing to enjoy the fruits of Chriſtian liberality, but not to endure the ſufferings of Chriſtian perſecution. He had ſeen with haughty concern the encroachment on the authority of the patriarch by the Sultan of Cairo, and he was willing to compenſate for this mortification of his pride by the acquiſition of princely

opulence. The hermits of the desert despised him, the monks of the city envied him, and the power and wealth he acquired were so great, that on his death, which happened in the year 1216, the dispute for the patriarchate resembled the conflict for a throne. The edifices sacred to religion were converted into houses of prophane debate; the days of hallowed ceremony were devoted to sanguinary contest, and all the mildness of religion disappeared in the excesses of its votaries. The Sultan had already experienced the impolicy of interfering with these furious polemics, and they were secure in his disdain, unless in the violence of their mutual quarrels they obstructed the repose of his government. The Sultan had arrived at the age of seventy-three years, nearly nineteen of which he had reigned in Egypt, when he was meditating new hostilities in his capital at Damascus. At this unfortunate time the Franks, who were incessantly pouring in fresh troops from the west, made another attempt on Damietta. It was besieged both by sea and land, and they prosecuted the attack with so much vigour, that Egypt was thrown into general consternation. When the news was delivered at the court of Damascus, the passions of his mind overcame the declining vigour of his constitution, and the aged prince was thrown into a lingering disorder, which terminated his life in three months. Thus ended the reign of the brother of Saladin, whose good fortune is principally to be attributed to the liberality of that

prince. The abilities he poſſeſſed were not inconſiderable, but they would have ſlept in a ſtate of inaction if he had not received from his brother ſeveral provinces in Syria and Meſopotamia, which, under his dextrous management, became important as the means of exhauſting the power of his two nephews. During the greater part of his reign his Egyptian ſubjects enjoyed perfect tranquillity: the civil commotions that prevailed among his Chriſtian ſubjects, were to be attributed to their own factious ſpirit, which he exerted his paternal influence, and not his mutes and his guards, to ſuppreſs. In the year 1218, (Hegira 615),

AL KAMEL

ſucceeded to the Egyptian throne, the authority of which ſituation he had ſo frequently held to the honour of his father, and to the advantage of the country. He came to this dignity at a very unfavourable period. His father, at Damaſcus, had been ſurrounded in his illneſs by the minions of his brother, Al Moadhem: immediately on his father's death, this diſcreet member of the family concealed that event, ſeized all the treaſures of the palace, and when he had acquired poſſeſſion of every thing within his reach, he ſummoned the nobles to his court, acquainted them with the event, and demanded their allegiance. Thus all the immediate dependencies of the Syrian capital were ſevered from the empire of Al Kamel, and the treaſures which were plundered deſtined to the maintenance of his government. The opulence of Egypt,

during a long reign, had been diverted from its natural channel for the ſupport of Aſiatic wars, and the beſt troops of the country had been ſacrificed in theſe remote expeditions. Added to theſe calamities, the inteſtine diſcord from the enmity of the Mahometans and Chriſtians, and among the Chriſtians themſelves with reſpect to each other, exhibited a picture of dominion not very pleaſing to a prince, who was heir to an inheritance from the confines of Lybia to the Perſian Gulph, and from the ſhores of the Mediterranean to the plains of Aſſyria.

The Franks were now making a conſiderable progreſs in the ſiege of Damietta. Of all the Chriſtian ſects, the government was not apprehenſive at this period of the Melchites. They were a ſect deteſted by the Mahometans, and had ſhewn themſelves at all times ready to give aſſiſtance to the Franks, by every favourable opportunity. The protection they had received under the former prince, and the mildneſs of his ſucceſſor, inſtead of exciting their gratitude, had rather provoked their contempt: they looked to the eſtabliſhment of the Franks in Egypt as the only means of their introduction to wealth and power, and every motive of enthuſiaſm, ſuperſtition, avarice, and pride, co-operated to make them long for the event.

It is probable that the dangers to which his dominion was expoſed by theſe ſectaries, induced Al Kamel to forego the uſual moderation of his habits, and to impoſe thoſe taxes upon the Jews and Chriſtians,

(who, however disunited in sentiment, were blended in one common class by the Mahometans) which subjected both the one and the other to extreme oppression. The edicts themselves were severe, and they were executed with a degree of harshness by the Mahometan agents, which rendered them yet more destructive, so that the Christians were robbed of the natural and just reward of their own industry. The Melchites especially were reduced to the lowest degree of misery; the sacred vessels of their churches were exposed to sale to pay the exactions, and their clamour of rebellion was silenced in the cries of penury. Al Kamel had become completely obnoxious by his conduct, and he would have been deservedly so, if what was accidental and temporary had been the habit of his government. In the suburbs of Alexandria was a stately cathedral, dedicated to the Evangelist St. Mark. This christian edifice, the pride of the patriarchs, he ordered to be levelled to the ground. A doubt may be entertained, whether this act of power, so useless to the prince, and so odious to the friends of the cross, was the effect of indignation or policy: the apologists of this favourite prince have asserted, that the Sultan, fearful that the Franks would avail themselves of this building as a temporary fortress, commanded its destruction; certain it is, that the Mahometans executed the order with malignant promptitude, and destroyed it to its very foundation with profane triumph.

The city of Manſurah ſtood in the peninſula where the Nile divides itſelf into two principal branches, before its entrance into the Mediterranean. This city had been dilapidated on account of the frequent devaſtations to which the northern part of the Egyptian territory had been expoſed. The Sultan not only reſtored it to its ancient importance, but erected ſtrong fortifications, that it might become a powerful barrier of the kingdom. While he was thus employed, his increaſing expences occaſioned new exactions, the induſtry of the country was obſtructed, and the natural conſequence of all theſe troubles was, a general ſcarcity of the principal article of human ſubſiſtence. During this calamity, with the enemy at his ports, the ſoldiery muſt be maintained; the granaries were pillaged, the merchants were impoveriſhed, and the voracity of the military ſpread general diſorder, and excited univerſal diſcontent. Such were the painful circumſtances under which Al Kamel commenced his reign, and it required all the wiſdom of his mind, and all the proweſs of his conſtitution, to ſupport himſelf under the various difficulties with which he had to encounter. Some circumſtances at this time occurred, which would incline the critical hiſtorian to doubt of the extreme poverty of the Chriſtians, and the acrimony of the monarch againſt them. The conteſt reſpecting a patriarch was conducted with a degree of virulence, and with a ſpirit of bribery, which was neither conſiſtent with the poverty nor the ſobriety

they affected. The Sultan having found it impoſſible to reſtore peace amongſt his Chriſtian ſubjects by the interference of his authority, the important ſituation of the patriarchate, ſince the deceaſe of John, had remained vacant during the long period of ten years. In this interval, the monk, David, ſeemed to be the favourite candidate for the chair of the Egyptian hierarchy; and as ſubjects, as well as princes, had diſcovered the univerſal attraction of gold, offers of immenſe ſums were made to the Sultan, that he might interpoſe his fiat for the election of this ambitious eccleſiaſtic. The pure ſyſtem of Chriſtianity was thus diſgraced by her profeſſors, and the contempt of Al Kamel was increaſed for theſe mercenary ſectaries: he declined with diſdain the offers that were made to him, to ſeduce him from the integrity of his government, and he iſſued his prohibition of ſuch diſhonourable expedients, unpractiſed and unknown among the diſciples of Mahomet.

His increaſing diſguſt for the Chriſtians of his realm, and the public calumnies they induſtriouſly propagated againſt his adminiſtration, did not prevent his ſhewing ſome occaſional indications of affection towards them. In the vale of Hubib was ſituated one of the moſt conſiderable monkiſh eſtabliſhments in the whole circuit of the Delta. In the progreſs of the Sultan, from Alexandria to his capital, he and his retinue had occaſion to avail themſelves of the hoſpitality of this monaſtry. The fathers of this inſtitution

were perſuaded, that the ſeverities they had experienced, in common with their Chriſtian brethren, were to be attributed to the exigency of public affairs, and not to the perſonal hatred of the monarch to the individuals of their church; they therefore received him in his journey with the reſpect that was due to their prince, and afforded him the degree of accommodation their indigent circumſtances admitted. He was the more ſenſible of their liberality, on account of the diſapprobation the inſolence of his other Chriſtian ſubjects had ventured to expreſs, and he was ſo gratified with this unexpected reception, that he ordered ſome hundred ſacks of corn to be delivered to them from his own granaries, and wholly exonerated them from the oppreſſive taxes to which they were liable. The monks of St. Mark were likewiſe exempted from any future taxation, and to promote peace amongſt the ſectaries, this order was permitted to elect a patriarch from their own ſociety.

The military affairs of the Mahometan princes, both in Egypt and Syria, ſeemed to be growing annually more deſperate. The Caliphs of Bagdad, before the acceſſion of the Fatimites, were ſenſible that the ſecurity of the vale of Egypt neither depended on Alexandria, nor on the ramparts of the capital. Theſe two cities were much too extenſive, and from their natural ſituation, were much too eaſily approached to afford this defence. Damietta, therefore, had been fortified with all the ſkill of the architects of the time,

and had been deemed a fortreſs impregnable againſt the ſyſtem of attack then eſtabliſhed. At that period the chemical diſcovery had not been employed, which was capable of levelling every artificial fortification, and which the native rock, on the magnificent ſcale of nature, can alone reſiſt. The Arabian architects were, however, diſappointed; not only Damietta was ſurrendered, but conſiderable conqueſts were made by the Franks on the Aſiatic territory; ſo that all the Mahometan princes were alarmed for the ſecurity of their dominions, and the courts of Aleppo, Damaſcus, and Cairo, thought it right to conclude, or at leaſt to poſtpone, their ancient animoſities, and to unite for the protection of the common cauſe.

The ſituation of Al Kamel was the moſt critical, and therefore he was the moſt active in accelerating this coalition: meſſenger had ſucceeded meſſenger, and his relations had been deaf to his intreaties; he truſted that, by a perſonal interview in their own country, he ſhould ſhew the confidence he himſelf repoſed in them, and the aſſiſtance he deſerved from them; but if the exigencies of his own ſituation ſhould have no influence on their generoſity, he thought he could ſucceſsfully expoſe the danger of the Mahometan intereſt, and the probable deſtruction to which their own dominions would be expoſed, if theſe deſperate adherents of the croſs ſhould gain an eſtabliſhment on the Egyptian territory. The intelligent reader need not be informed, that the cruſades were

the ſource and ſupport of theſe attacks of the Franks; what the Arabian writers mention, as curſory and occaſional, is an important and permanent feature in European hiſtory. The firſt cruſade commenced four years before the concluſion of the eleventh century. The death of Saladin occurred ſeven years before the termination of the twelfth. The firſt impreſſion of the adventurers of the croſs was ſo unexpected in the eaſt, that they effected their conqueſts with great facility; but when Saladin aſſembled his warlike nations, animated with a fanatical zeal ſcarcely inferior to their own, they were nearly extirpated. On the death of the Sultan, princes of leſs power were deſtined to oppoſe them; the empire of Saladin was not united in a common cauſe, and the Franks again made freſh incurſions, and obtained new conqueſts. The fourth cruſade ſpent its force on Conſtantinople, and ended in the conqueſt of the Greek empire by the Latins. In the fifth, the univerſal frenzy which had overſpread Europe, increaſed to a violent paroxiſm, and the enemy to which Al Kamel was now oppoſed, conſiſted of nearly two hundred thouſand Franks, who were either at the mouths of the Nile, or in their vicinity. The cruſaders found the error of their previous meaſures; they now, therefore, determined to u bdue Paleſtine through Egypt, the ſeat and ſtorehouſe of the Sultan, and, after a ſiege of ſixteen months, during which indeed their numbers and reſources were conſiderably reduced, they obtained poſ-

ſeſſion of Damietta. Such was the ſituation of affairs when Al Kamel appeared at the courts of Damaſcus and Aleppo; and his viſit was not unſucceſsful. Thoſe powerful princes ſaw the neceſſity of uniting their forces with the Sultan of Egypt, leſt the victorious Chriſtians ſhould remove every veſtige of their power. When Al Kamel arrived in Syria, by the information he received, he was ſupplied with new arguments in favour of this coalition, which more affected his Aſiatic allies, than the formidable deſcent upon the Nile. The Emperor Frederic had prepared a fleet of one hundred gallies, and one hundred tranſports, framed to land two thouſand five hundred knights, with their horſes and attendants; his powerful vaſſals of Naples and of Germany compoſed a numerous hoſt, and the Engliſh cruſaders conſiſted of an army of nearly ſixty thouſand men. It is true that the ſlowneſs of theſe mighty preparations conſumed the proviſions of the more indigent, and that the multitude was thinned by ſickneſs and deſertion; yet, under ſuch a leader, this immenſe armament, which was directed againſt Syria, was not only ſufficient to awaken the fears, but to animate to the utmoſt exertions, the Syrian chiefs. A powerful army was ſoon put in activity, and the allies advanced on Damietta. They arrived at a time favourable to their enterprize, when the Chriſtian army was ruined by the inſolence of the Pope's legate, who, in the name of the pontiff, had aſſumed the general com-

mand. The weſtern army had become ſickly by the inclemencies of the climate, to which they were unaccuſtomed; the blowing ſands were an intolerable grievance; the oriental armies approached in irreſiſtible force; and it was only by the evacuation of Damietta that the Franks were enabled to obtain a ſafe retreat.

While theſe things were going forward in Egypt, the Emperor hoiſted ſail at Brunduſium, with an army of forty thouſand men on board his fleet; but, after he had continued at ſea no more than three days, he thought fit to elevate the ſignal of return, and in conſequence was excommunicated by Gregory the ninth. Yet the Chriſtians had reaſon to be ſatisfied with his ſubſequent exertions; he obtained for them Bethlem, Nazareth, Tyre, Sidon, and the Holy City. The Latins on this occaſion were allowed not only to inhabit, but to fortify the ſacred city; the ſame equal code of civil and religious freedom, which we have before noticed, was granted in common to the adherents of the croſs and the creſcent; thus the churches were reſtored—the monaſteries were repleniſhed; and, in the ſpace of fifteen years, the population of Latin inhabitants in Jeruſalem amounted to ſix thouſand.

After the ſurrender of Damietta to the Sultan and his allies, his firſt care was to repair the dilapidations the Franks had made in that fortreſs; but he did not confine himſelf to this object—Cairo was put in a reſ-

pectable condition of defence, at leaſt ſufficient to protect it under any ſudden attack. Al Kamel had lately ſuffered the moſt ſerious alarm, and he was determined, if poſſible, to avoid the renewal; but he was not aware that the cruſaders had abandoned their ancient ſyſtem of policy, and that therefore there was leſs to apprehend from their exertions. The multiplication of the cruſades at this time was probably the ruin of the cauſe. They were preached not only againſt their ancient foes, but againſt their former friends and neighbours—againſt the Kings of Sicily, the Pagans of Livonia, the Moors of Spain, and the Albigeois of France; and thus, no longer concentrating their forces for the completion of one leading object, they were diſappointed in their moſt favourite ſchemes.

The internal and exterior cauſes to which we have adverted, had very much diſorganized the Egyptian government; the Sultan, therefore, applied this ſeaſon of peace to its reform, in all the departments of the ſtate. The virtuous miniſters were encouraged; the vicious were removed; the natural abundance of the country ſoon ſupplied the deficiencies of the treaſury, and general peace and happineſs again prevailed throughout the kingdom, excepting among the Chriſtians, who were ſtill engaged in violent conteſts about the incumbent of the patriarchal dignity. Al Kamel being no longer apprehenſive of their treachery with the enemy, expoſed them to no new ſeverities,

but left them to the adjuſtment of their own differences, while the more zealous Mahometans ſaw with malignant pleaſure the indecent rage in which the members of the ſame faith were accuſtomed to indulge their paſſions, and in their devout meditations in the moſque they proudly triumphed in their ſuperiority over the ſinners of the croſs.

The Sultan having arranged the government of his kingdom in a way he deemed likely to perpetuate the felicity of his ſubjects, now turned his attention toward Syria and Paleſtine. He rightly conſidered, that as long as the Franks maintained their footing on the eaſtern coaſt of the Mediterranean, not only the empires of his relations on the thrones of Aleppo and Damaſcus were in danger, but his own dominions were liable to their frequent and formidable incurſions; yet he did not correctly attend to the beſt means of his own ſecurity. A warlike prince is frequently too much diſpoſed to waſte his treaſures and his forces in haſty and unſeaſonable attempts, inſtead of increaſing them by the delay of hoſtilities, and reſerving them for the moment when their power will be irreſiſtible. The alliance he had already made with the Aſiatic princes, prepared the way for future connections; they had learnt to confide on his honour, and to reſpect his abilities. He collected his Egyptian forces, ſet ſail for Aſia, and ſupported by his friends, made extenſive conqueſts in Syria and Paleſtine. Previouſly to his departure he had ſo well

eſtabliſhed the order of his government, that, during an abſence of five or ſix years, no material inconvenience appeared to ariſe from the abſence of the Sultan. His Mahometan ſubjects felt their own honour concerned in his victories over the Franks, and the ſalubrity of the regions of the Nile ſupplied the neceſſities of his remote camp. In the career of conqueſt, he ſeized on the ſacred city, and levelled its fortifications with the ground; but the conſequence of all theſe foreign conqueſts was, that his own dominions were drained of the opulence and of the ſoldiery, by which the defence of the country ought to be maintained; and the capture of Jeruſalem ſo enraged his weſtern enemies, that they were determined to make another attempt to reduce his power.

Al Kamel pauſed in the midſt of his triumphs, looked towards his dominions on the Nile, which he had almoſt forgotten, having been only reminded of them by the ample ſupplies they afforded him in his Aſiatic expedition. He repented even of the conqueſts by which his kingdom had been rendered defenceleſs, and was determined rather to reſign them, than to expoſe his ſubjects to new dangers. The Franks were preparing to attack Egypt, when he, to avert the calamity, condeſcended to negociate. He yielded to them not only the city of Jeruſalem, but ſome other important places in Syria and Paleſtine, as the price of peace; but he expreſsly contracted, that the fortifications of the Holy City ſhould not be

repaired, and that the Mahometans ſhould preſerve their former rights and privileges.

After theſe events he felt a ſtrong inclination to return to increaſe his poſſeſſions in Aſia; he obtained many victories, and acquired the dominion of Damaſcus. But a new enemy had ariſen in the eaſt, which threatened the ſubverſion of the Saracenic thrones; the Seljuk Tartars invaded his Syrian dominions, and he died when he was making preparations to reſiſt their roads, in the year 635 of the Mahometan, and 1237 of the Chriſtian æra, after he had lived ſeventy years, during twenty of which he held the dignity of the Egyptian government. The Chriſtian writers are not likely to do complete juſtice to the character of Al Kamel: he was, however, uniformly friendly to the ſectaries in his dominions, when he thought he had nothing further to apprehend from their treachery. The Melchites in particular, no doubt, had given him real cauſe of diſguſt and alarm, from their conſtant intercourſe with the Franks, his formidable enemies; and a leſs humane and politic prince might have driven them from the protection of his government, and have confiſcated the whole of their property. Among his accompliſhments we ſhould notice his ſkill in military tactics, which, with his natural bravery, enabled him to effect the conqueſt of extenſive provinces in Syria, Paleſtine, and Meſopotamia. He was attached to the learned men of his time, and was himſelf no inconſiderable proficient in

Arabian erudition: he died inteſtate. The Ayubite princes ſeem to have been particularly negligent in not providing for the ſerenity of their government after their deceaſe. They had moſt of them a numerous offspring, and inſtead of apportioning their dominions among the individuals of the riſing family, or aſſigning to one the ſupreme authority, they left their children to ſcramble for the royal ſpoil, and he was commonly the moſt ſucceſsful competitor who would ſacrifice, with the leaſt reluctance, the filial and fraternal duties; or, in other words, that prince obtained the government who was leaſt fit to govern, and who, having ſurrendered all the domeſtic duties to avarice and ambition, was prepared to abandon every ſenſe of public duty with which the happineſs of his ſubjects was connected. The deceaſed monarch's eldeſt ſon ſeized on his Syrian and other Aſiatic dominions.

AL ADEL ABN BEKR was advanced, by the general voice of the Egyptians, to ſucceed to the rank of Sultan of the Nile. While his father had been employed in remote expeditions, Al Adel had been left, for many years, viceroy in Egypt, and Al Kamel was ſo ſatisfied with his adminiſtration, that the former purſued his projects in Aſia without obſtruction from any diſcontents or miſmanagement at home, which might have rendered his perſonal influence neceſſary.

Whatever might be the attachment of the Egyptians, his brother Nojmo'ddin, who was deemed

to poſſeſs the hereditary right, ſoon drove him from the ſeat of power. For this purpoſe the former made immenſe preparations, which he tranſported to Africa, leaving Damaſcus and his other dominions without any competent defence. The verſatility of the Egyptian character was manifeſtly ſhewn on this occaſion. He advanced with his army, and, in his progreſs, the whole country ſubmitted to the uſual form of allegiance, which two years before had been given with ſo much promptitude to another branch of his family. It is probable that Al Adel Abu Bekr was of a pacific diſpoſition, and that the royal robes with which he was veſted he reluctantly ſuſtained; but whatever inclination he might have to reſiſt oppoſition, would have been vain againſt the general voice of the people, and againſt the flower of the Syrian army. Nojmo'ddin ſoon poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſtrong fortreſs on Mount Gibel, and having thus opened a paſſage into the heart of the kingdom, he proceeded to Cairo, and was received within the gates amidſt the acclamations of all the inhabitants. From this moment we muſt conſider

NOJMO'DDIN

the Sultan of Egypt. Whatever might be the diſpoſition of the people at large in his favour, he knew that the Egyptian Emirs had been ſtrongly attached to his brother, and that the ſervants of the palace would endeavour to ſow diſſentions to diſturb the repoſe of his government. His firſt meaſures, therefore,

after his acceſſion, were to change his miniſters, and to increaſe the guards of his perſon. Altaſhil Azzo'ddin Abdalazziz, was raiſed to the ſecond dignity in the kingdom, and an advantageous peace was made with the Franks, that the new acquiſition of power, both of the Sultan and his miniſters, might be more firmly eſtabliſhed. The means of which he availed himſelf, for the ſecurity of his perſon, was the moſt unfortunate part of his conduct. He could not truſt in the fidelity of his ſubjects, and relied therefore on the protection of foreign mercenaries.

When we commenced our obſervations on the Ayubite family with the eſtabliſhment of Saladin on the Egyptian throne, we did not think it material to notice the introduction of a new order of men under his government, to which both the riſe and the fall of his race in Egypt were to be attributed. The power of this new order increaſed with his ſucceſſors, and it grew into ſuch magnitude in the reign which is the preſent ſubject of our enquiry, that we can no longer paſs it over unnoticed.

The neceſſity to which the Ayubite family was driven, of eſtabliſhing a foreign guard to prevent aſſaſſination from the enthuſiaſts in the Fatimite intereſt, led to the employment of ſome obſcure and needy foreigners on this duty. In the time of Saladin and his immediate ſucceſſors, they were poſſeſſed of no power or property, excepting the arms they wore and the ſtipend they received for their ſervices.

In proceſs of time they grew into favour, and the mean origin of theſe Mamlukes or Circaſſian ſlaves was loſt amid the blaze of imperial favour. Important duties were aſſigned them in the civil offices of ſtate, and they received appointments of the higheſt rank in the provinces. They were ſent with military forces to diſtant regions, and the ſecurity they gave, and the obedience they exacted to the Sultan amongſt his rebellious ſubjects, occaſioned their nomination to the rank of Emirs; ſo that they gradually acquired wealth and ſtability in the ſtate. Thoſe of them which were employed as guards about the perſon of the monarch, were called the Halca. The term is from halac (cinxis) and implies a troop which ſurrounds the perſon of the Sultan. Their weapons were ſimilar to thoſe worn by the prince himſelf. They were decorated with fine gold; and birds, griffins, and roſes, engraven upon them, ſhewed the conſumate ſkill of the Egyptian artiſts. Theſe glittering ornaments were ſuſpended to their perſons by vermilion-coloured bands, and every mark of punctilio and reſpect was expected to be paid to theſe haughty emigrants. The Huſſars of the chamber commanded the military muſic to echo through the arcades of the palace, when the Sultan roſe to the duties, or retired from the fatigues of the day; and no other ſound was allowed to prophane the ſacred ſilence in the preſence of the ſovereign, without his expreſs permiſſion. In the

reign to which we are now adverting, the inſtitution had riſen into ſuch importance, that it had become the ſchool in which the adminiſtrators of public affairs and the governors of the provinces were educated, and none were conſidered of ſufficient truſt and dignity to fill thoſe ſtations, who had not received their inſtructions among theſe prætorian bands. It will be ſeen in the ſequel that the conſequence was as fatal to the deſcendants of Ayub, as the like eſtabliſhment at Rome had been to the ſucceſſors of Cæſar.

Theſe few obſervations will materially elucidate the revolution which was now faſt approaching in the Egyptian government. We before ſaid Nojmo'ddin, in order to ſecure ſucceſs in Egypt, had left his Syrian capital in a defenceleſs condition; the conſequence was preciſely what might have been expected. The Salehs of two neighbouring ſtates, Abek and Emeſſa, combined their armies and ſeized upon his capital of Dameſcus. His affairs in Egypt ſo wholly engroſſed his attention, and gave ſuch abundant employment for his forces, that he was in no condition to attempt the recapture of his Syrian capital, without the reſignation of the fair kingdom which he had ſo recently obtained. Having attentively weighed the circumſtances, he determined rather to retain ſecure poſſeſſeſſion of the latter, than endanger the loſs of both by an Aſiatic expedition at preſent, and he fondly flattered himſelf that ſome more favourable opportu-

nity would occur, when he ſhould be enabled to maintain, with a competent force, his indiſputable rights in the Syrian empire. He therefore aſſented to a treaty of partition, with this humiliating article introduced into it, that he ſhould be permitted to hold an undiſturbed authority over the kingdom of Egypt. It was not long before the means were afforded to gratify his revenge on theſe uſurpers. The arms of the Moguls, which had been victorious every where in the eaſtern extremities of the world, were at this period travelling weſtward, and were ſhortly to bring to a concluſion the ancient Caliphat on the ſhores of the Tigris. Their irreſiſtible forces had already reached the eaſtern ſhores of the Caſpian ſea. The ſhepherds of theſe immenſe diſtricts, incapable of preſerving their territory againſt the enemy, fled weſtward, and finding Syria moſt defenceleſs, rolled headlong on that country. To ſtem this torrent, an unnatural union was formed between the Franks of Paleſtine, and the Princes of Aleppo, Emeſſa, and Damaſcus. While the Coraſmins thus hung over the frontiers, the civilized nations they approached trembled with anxiety. Nojmo'ddin entered into a treaty with theſe ſavages, yet more unnatural than the former. They precipitated themſelves immediately on theſe enemies of the Sultan, the military orders were almoſt exterminated in a ſingle engagement, and the forces that reſiſted their progreſs were either ſwept down or dragged into mercileſs

captivity. The moſt horrid barbarities were committed; venerable age pleaded in vain; to the charms of the ſofter ſex they were inſenſible, and their coarſe organs were even deaf to the cries of infant innocence. The ſacred edifices raiſed to the honour of religion, whether Mahometan or Chriſtian, were profaned and plundered; the ſplendid monuments of the arts, which had attracted the admiration of ſo many ſucceeding generations, were borne down with the moſt wanton impiety, and the towns through which they paſſed were left without proviſions and without property. It is probable that notwithſtanding the expedients the Sultan had reſorted to had ſo amply gratified his malignity towards the Syrian princes, yet, that he repented of the introduction he had given to the Coraſmins who had ſpread devaſtation wherever they approached, for he could not be diſpoſed to deſtroy what he ſo ardently longed to regain; certain it is, that he was conſiderably alarmed at the progreſs of their conqueſts, and on a propoſal being made by their chiefs for an eſtabliſhment in his own Egyptian dominions, he immediately rejected it, fearing that the ſame waſte and miſery would be felt on the ſhores of the Nile which had followed their arms in the plains of Syria. The forces of Rokneddinbibars, the commander of theſe ſavages, had been particularly directed by the expreſs conditions of Nojmo'ddin againſt the poſſeſſions of the Franks on the Mediterranean coaſt, and the tract of country to

the ſouth of Demaſcus—for the capture of the latter, Nojmo'ddin reſerved his own forces. Iſhmael, who was at this time Saleh of Damaſcus, had carefully watched his motions, and in order to buy the friendſhip of the Franks who inhabited his borders, gave them the cities of Tiberius and Aſkalon, and even the holy city and other conſiderable places. Whether this meaſure was politic, is at this diſtance of time involved in ſome uncertainty; it is true that he obtained the alliance of the Franks, but he expoſed his own domains to diſunion. His Mahometan ſubjects were extremely diſſatisfied at this ſurrender to the Chriſtians, whom they feared much more than the Egyptian Sultan.

In the year 1244 of the Chriſtian, and 642 of the Mahometan æra, Nojmo'ddin put his army in motion, and proceeded to the coaſt of Syria. When he arrived, he immediately joined Rokneddin with his grim barbarians, near the borders of Arabia Petræa. Iſhmael had not been inactive; the remains of the gallant Franks poured into his camp, and the greater part of the princes of Syria had made it a common cauſe to oppoſe the inroad of the Egyptians with their ſavage allies. Manſour Ibrahim was appointed to the important command of the Syrian forces in a battle which would probably decide the fate of numerous independent empires. The two armies met near Gaza, and engaged with great fury. The Chriſtian Knights fought with their uſual reſolution,

maintaining their poſt, or purſuing, as circumſtances might require; but being unſupported and overpowered by numbers, they were all cut off to a man. Manſour Ibrahim in the concluſion received an entire defeat, and his troops fled on all ſides from their ferocious purſuers with the utmoſt precipitation.

The Egyptians, after this deciſive victory, immediately entered Aſkalon triumphant, and proceeded then towards Damaſcus. It was neceſſary now either to conquer the Franks in their own territory, or, inſtead of proceeding along the coaſt, to follow the eaſtern road to the city of Damaſcus. It is true that the Franks had been beat, but they had not yet been broken; they looked upon the new princes who occupied Syria, as intruders on dominions to which they had a prior right. They had been long ſeaſoned to the ſoil, if not accuſtomed to the manners of the country, and they fondly hoped for the eſtabliſhment of an empire in the eaſt which would promote the diffuſion of Chriſtianity, and make it as prevalent in the oriental as it was in the weſtern world. Both the Egyptians and Syrians had been rendered effeminate by that learning and by thoſe arts, which the Franks were not only ignorant of, but utterly deſpiſed: they felt as if their own nerves were ſtrung by a more powerful hand, and it is probable that their expectations would not have been diſappointed if a ſtronger foe had not riſen againſt them, which was not only equal to the extirpation of the

feeble and luxurious race by which they were surrounded, but to the destruction of their own authority.

Nojmo'ddin was probably too much intent on the acquisition of his former capital, to wish to take this opportunity of pursuing his conquests in Palestine against the Christian settlement; he therefore advanced Maimo'ddin to the nominal dignity of Viceroy of Syria, as a temptation to that officer to convert the fiction into reality, by ascending to the same dignity in the capital of Damascus. With this appointment, and that of Generalissimo of the forces, he advanced in the direction where he was likely to meet the least interruption, and after a long and fatiguing march, sat down before the capital. The siege was commenced with great vigour, but it is probable a capitulation would not so soon have been submitted to, if Ishmael had not already excited the discontent of his subjects by a cause we have already explained. In the surrender, the inhabitants were left to the mercy of the conqueror, but the garrison stipulated that they themselves should be permitted to retire without molestation, and with all their effects. The former, however, had little to apprehend from the victor; he considered them as his natural born subjects, and both from personal attachment to him and from dislike to the vanquished usurper, they rejoiced in the transfer of their allegiance.

Ishmael now descended from the lofty rank he had

obtained, to his former more humble condition of Saleh of Balbeck. In his misfortunes he was abandoned by all his allies, and his disgrace was attributed to the fiat of offended Heaven for the dishonourable engagements he had made with the infidels of the cross, so derogatory to the purity of the Mahometan character. He was now entirely left to the mercy of the Viceroy; a new partition treaty in consequence was made, very different from that which had deprived Nojmo'ddin of his hereditary claims. The latter was not only left in unquestioned authority in Egypt, but Ishmael was constrained to renounce in his favour, all future pretensions to Damascus and its opulent dependent cities; in return for which, the victor made him some inconsiderable concessions, which placed him below envy, but perhaps would not raise him above contempt.

It is probable that the Viceroy, from the generosity of his temper, somewhat exceeded his commission, for the retreat of Ishmael seems to have been a material disappointment to Nojmo'ddin, whose vindictive spirit had not been softened by the calamities to which his enemy had been exposed. One of the first acts of his authority, after he had been reinstated in his Syrian metropolis, was to send the Vizir of the fallen Prince loaded with irons a prisoner to his Egyptian capital.

The subsequent operations of Nojmo'ddin in Syria are left in some uncertainty. The modern historian

in vain enquires by what circumſtances his brutal allies the Coraſmins were diſmiſſed from his ſervice, and an Arabian writer of conſiderable authority mentions nothing about his ſubſequent victories. The balance, however, from the teſtimony of other critics, ſeems to turn on the other ſide, and we venture to follow their teſtimony when we relate that the anger of Nojmo'ddin had not been diſſipated by theſe important meaſures. Irritated by the eſcape of the Saleh of Balbeck, he followed this ruined prince into his obſcure retreat, and deprived him of the poor remains of ſovereign authority. The Saleh of Emeſſa, and ſome other allies of the late prince, he puniſhed for their temerity; they were not even permitted to retain the ſhadow of royalty, and were diſmiſſed from their governments to wander in neglect and indigence. After the reduction of theſe princes, his authority in his Aſiatic empire was univerſally acknowledged, and he had time and opportunity to form new ſchemes of conqueſt, in which he ſucceſsfully engaged.

We muſt now turn our attention to Egypt. David, who had long held the dignity of the patriarchate, in the year 1243 of the Chriſtian, and 641 of the Mahometan æra, paid reluctantly the common debt of mortality. We have before had occaſion to notice the oppreſſive impoſitions which were uſed upon the Chriſtian ſects, and the cruel ſpirit with which the exactions were made by the Mahometan

collectors. It is likely that the Sultans found it more convenient afterwards to collect their revenues from the Chriſtians through the medium of the Alexandrian primate. Indiſcriminate extortions by vindictive finances would oftener diſappoint than promote the intereſts of the revenue: the Chriſtian agents were correctly acquainted with the property of their own members, and therefore knew how to apportion their demands to the ſituation of the contributers. Thus ſanctioned by the Sultan's authority, the Patriarch was the medium through which the Chriſtian revenue was received, and with him the treaſurers of the ſtate were immediately to account. The avaricious David had been more than ſeven years at the head of the Alexandrian church, and by receiving the royal treaſures on the one hand, and the moſt cruel extortions on his fallen Chriſtians on the other, he had accumulated an immenſe treaſure, which on the event of his death could not eſcape public obſervation. It was in vain that the treaſurers had complained of the inſufficiency of the ſupplies from the ſectaries of the croſs; David argued on the impoſſibility of increaſing the exactions, from the extreme poverty to which the individuals of the Chriſtian church were reduced. The adminiſtrators of government lent a favourable ear to this excuſe, and, for the ſake of humanity, would not preſs further their requiſitions, but on the deceaſe of the Patriarch the matter was fully explained:

it was discovered that the poverty which had furnished him with an apology for the trifling payments he made into the treasury, was the necessary consequence of his own extortion; that the supplies of the state were interrupted by the golden dam he had raised in his own treasury, and his memory was exposed equally to the contempt and abhorrence of Christians and Mahometans. The Sultan ordered his palace to be sealed up, his effects every where to be secured, and a severe enquiry to be instituted. The result was, that his iniquity was discovered and proclaimed; the Christians lamented the disgrace to which they were exposed, and the Mahometans triumphed in their degradation. We are told by the three historians to whom we are most indebted for these details, that the immense property he had amassed was sold by public auction, and the produce was confiscated as public property. It appeared that, under various pretences to conceal the extent of his wealth, this infamous priest had deposited in the churches, plate, utensils and jewels of great value: these were all seized, and scarcely a sufficient sum was allowed for his decent interment. The miserly David was thus made the banker of the Egyptian treasury, and immense sums were drawn from this repository to contribute to remove the exigencies of the state.

Nojmo'ddin continued in the latter part of his life to make extensive conquests in Asia, and to give new

provocations to the Franks by his rapid ſucceſſes in their Syrian territories; the latter receiving new and powerful reinforcements, determined to attack him in his own empire. They inveſted Damietta, and had taken poſſeſſion of it when the Sultan arrived on his frontiers. The Damiettan ſoldiery were hanged by his order for their cowardice, while he was ſuffering under a gangrene in his thigh, which carried him off in the 40th year of his age and 9th of his reign.

TURANSCHAH,

his third ſon, ſucceeded to the empire for a very ſhort time; he gained an important victory over the Franks who had proceeded into the heart of his territory, but changing his miniſters, and acting in decided oppoſition to the Mamluke Emirs, and to the Sultan mother, Schadjreddor, he was beſieged in his own palace, and various relations are given of the manner of his death. The moſt probable is, that on entering the royal caſtle, the Holca or body guard having adjuſted their plan of aſſaſſination, one of them ſtruck at him with his ſabre. The Prince obſerving the threatened violence, lifted up his hand to ward off the blow, by which ſome of his fingers were cut off. As he was ſuffering under the pain of the wound and was hurrying from the ſcene of danger, he loudly exclaimed, "The Baharites have done this, I will be revenged on them by making them all periſh."

After this explicit declaration of his intentions, and the attempt being rendered for the moment abortive by the velocity of his eſcape, every motive of perſonal ſecurity urged the Baharite Emirs to complete the fatal buſineſs they had commenced. The royal troops were in the neighbourhood, and any communication between the Prince and the army, would have diſappointed all their deſigns. Before the Sultan could procure the aſſiſtance of any faithful attendant to impart the danger of his ſituation, the Emirs gave orders for the immediate march of the troops, by their emiſſaries ſpreading a report among the ranks that the Sultan was on his march to Damietta. The Prince in the mean time had aſcended the loftieſt tower of the palace, acceſs was impoſſible without delay, and his enemies determined on the expedient of ſetting fire to the building. While the conflagration was ſpreading, he cried out "Muſſulmans, I do not want to govern you, why did you force me from my retirement to the cares of royalty?" The flames continued aſcending, and raged with great fury on the edifice, the material of which was wood; he muſt therefore either fall with the general ruin, or precipitate himſelf into the Nile. He determined on the latter, and while he was contending with the waves, nine or ten of the inſurgents purſued him, and killed him in the water. The body remained expoſed for three days on the bank of the river, and it was not until the Caliph's ambaſſa-

der had ſolicited the ſanquinary foe, that it received the honours of burial.

In conſequence of the death of the young Prince, the whole power was veſted in the Sultaneſs Schadjreddor; her name was employed in the public acts, and her effigy was ſtamped on the coin of the country. Moerz-Ibegh was made Atabek, or Prime Miniſter. A Turkiſh ſlave of Kapthae, and the Mamlukes of Egypt, immediately propoſed to the people of Damaſcus, to put the government under the ſame power, but they elected Naſryouſouf, a deſcendant of Saladin and Prince of Aleppo. This alienation gave great diſpleaſure to Ibegh. All the people dependent on the Syrian capital who happened to be in Egypt, were ſaved, but not before the new Prince of Damaſcus had ſecured himſelf in his government and taken poſſeſſion of Balbeck, Adgeloun, and Schamimis. In conſequence of theſe events, and the general diſorder of the interior of Egypt, Ibegh found very little difficulty in perſuading the inhabitants to ſubmit no longer to female government, and to advance himſelf to the ſupreme dignity in the ſtate. But the ſtandard was hardly raiſed before him, when

MOUSA, SURNAMED MALEKAL ASCHRAT,

was nominated Sultan, and the former humbled into his prior ſituation of regent of the country. The Egyptians had ſo long been accuſtomed to regal minorities, that they feared leſs the imbecility of a child than the diſadvantage of female government. Mouſa

was only eight years old when he was inveſted with the imperial honours, and the new king of Damaſcus took this favourable opportunity of the inteſtine diviſions in Egypt, to intrigue with Lewis at Akka, to revenge the death of Turan Schah. Lewis of France was now placed in the flattering ſituation of receiving ambaſſadors both from Damaſcus and Cairo, to ſolicit his friendſhip and alliance; for his aſſiſtance at this time ſeemed to be in the higheſt degree important, and capable of ſecuring the ſucceſs of either party againſt the other. The Egyptian miniſter had not forgotten that the exactions of his country on the Franks, would make them look for ſome compenſation before they would accede to his propoſitions; the ambaſſadors, therefore, were followed by a great number of Chriſtian priſoners who were voluntarily ſurrendered to Lewis: he obtained likewiſe from them the Chriſtian children who had been forced into the Mahometan ſects, the heads of his friends which were inſultingly placed over the battlements of Cairo, and the remiſſion of a payment, amounting to 8000l. of our money. A further condition was added to induce him to join the Egyptians againſt the chief of Damaſcus, which was no leſs than the ceſſion of the holy city which was delivered into his power. The Egyptians having thus gained over the Chriſtian king, the Prince of Damaſcus had no time to loſe, and collected his armies to reſiſt the allies. He precipitately ſeized all

the paſſes, and the Mamlukes on the Aſiatic ſide were in no condition to reſiſt his forces. He advanced ſuddenly on Gaza, where ſome of the Egyptian forces had united, and encountering them, obtained the victory and purſued them to Saliha. The Mamlukes and Egyptians, from a variety of cauſes, were now reduced to a very low ſituation: the people had no longer any reſpect for their governors, but alſo recollected the importance and dignity of their ſituation. When they acknowledged the ſupremacy of the Caliph of Bagdad, they therefore made their country oſtenſibly a dependence on that power, and the Sultan and his miniſter were conſidered the ſervants of Moſtaſem. Pharezeddin Octai was an Emir of great power, and an officer of diſtinguiſhed gallantry; he ſaw with mortification, the diſtreſs to which the country was reduced, and paſſed over to Gaza with the Egyptian army, where he obtained a deciſive victory over the troops of Damaſcus.

This bold effort ſhewed to the princes of Syria, that if the power of Egypt were weakened, it was not deſtroyed; the princes of the family of Saladin, therefore, united to exterminate this rival. They were led to the expectation of ſucceſs from the declamatory pride of Schamſeddin Loulou, who was governor of the kingdom under the prince of Damaſcus; he deſpiſed equally the armies of the Egyptian and of the Mamluke Tartars, who had incroached on the rights of the natives, and aſſerted,

that a conqueſt over their troops might be effected by his brave Syrians, armed with two hundred ſtaves. Notwithſtanding his temporary triumphs, he had ſome reaſon afterwards to lament the contemptuous terms he had employed; the talents of Pharezeddin were a hoſt of ſtrength, and he could truſt to his genius and good fortune in the moſt deſperate circumſtances. The Egyptians were encouraged by their late victory; they collected their forces into one great body at Saliha, and the moſt deſperate battle was fought near Abbaſa, when the Africans at laſt were obliged to give way, and ſome of them fled by ſea and land from the purſuit of the conquerors, even to the deſerts of the Thebais. Whatever might be the affected contempt of Schamſeddin for his enemies, he neither truſted to two hundred ſtaves in the hands of the Syrians, nor to the ordinary expedients of war: it ſeems probable, that he employed emiſſaries in the camp of the Egyptians, for we are expreſsly told that the victory was decided by ſome of the troops of the Nile, which in a critical moment croſſed over and joined the Aſiatics.

Ibegh and Pharezedlin commanded the defeated troops, but they did not incur the ſame diſgrace. With only three hundred cavalry they proceeded along the Syrian coaſt, where they met Schamſeddin and Dhiaeddin, accompanied by a body of troops which had been detained from the purſuit to attend

the victorious generals on their triumphant entry into the cities of Syria. This handful of daring African horſemen, urged to madneſs by the contempt of Schamſeddin, and the recent victory he had obtained, bore down upon him in the midſt of his followers, among whom were numerous princes of the race of Saladin. The powerful eſcort of theſe haughty conquerors was put to flight, the princes, as well as the generals Dhiaeddin and Schamſeddin, were made priſoners, and the latter was ſacrificed to public vengeance for the diſhonour with which he had treated the Egyptian name.

The victory obtained over Ibegh and Pharezeddin quickly reached Cairo, and the inhabitants rejoiced in the ſucceſs of the Ayubite princes; and, in the proſpect of their reſtoration, celebrated the victory inſtead of lamenting their own defeat. Ibegh, therefore, when he returned to Cairo, delivered it over to the ſoldiery for pillage, and the Mamlukes triumphed over the unhappy natives, and made themſelves ſtill more deteſted by their rapine and violence.

The ſcene of action was now removed to the vicinity of Gaza and Aſkalon, where the arms of the Syrian prince were attended with various ſucceſs. In the year 1253, when his troops were collected in the former city, a peace took place, and the Mamlukes were admitted to remain in the quiet poſſeſſion of Egypt, Gaza, and Jeruſalem; all the territories beyond the Jordan, to which the Egyptians formerly laid

claim, were ceded to the prince of Damaſcus. This peace was effected by the ambaſſador of the Caliph, whoſe aſpiring authority was frequently exerted for the beſt and wiſeſt purpoſes. It was the intereſt of of thoſe ancient adherents of the Mahometan faith to prevent the diviſions of its ſectaries, that the common cauſe might be ſupported by their united force againſt the weſtern intruders, who waſted the ſtrength of the adherents of the prophet by continued wars. This alliance made a material change in the affairs of the Franks; they could no longer profit by the diviſions of their enemies, and were obliged to confine themſelves within their borders.

It was impoſſible that the influence of Pharezeddin ſhould not be a ſubject of continual alarm and jealouſy in the mind of Ibegh. His powerful followers, the hardy Mamlukes, who were attached to his cauſe, the gallantry with which he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in battle, and the natural authority of his talents and virtues, raiſed him almoſt to an equal importance with the Sultan himſelf. This dangerous competitor had received the title of king from the affection of his adherents, and he had entered into marriage with the ſiſter of Manſour, king of Hama, ſo that he was not only formidable for his interior authority, but for his external alliances. This royal conſort was admitted into the manſion of the ancient princes of the empire, and, on a throne of ſtate, received the numerous ſuitors of his ſplendid court.

Pharezeddin was not only a ſecret enemy, but he was an open and avowed opponent of the reigning Sultan. The young Aſchrat he had uniformly ſupported againſt the pretenſions of Ibegh, and it is probable this feeble remnant of the houſe of Saladin would have been again reſtored, if Ibegh had not taken a daring ſtep of directing the aſſaſſination of Pharezeddin as he entered the palace of his imperial miſtreſs.

It is from this period we muſt ſtate the eſtabliſhment of the Mamlukes on the throne of Egypt. Aſchrat, who was the laſt of the Ayubites who attained that honour, on the death of Pharezeddin, was ſent to a diſtant country to enjoy that repoſe which the defection of his ſlaves would not admit him to poſſeſs in the palace of his fathers.

IBEGH.

It is probable that the beauty of Schadjreddor, had been in ſome degree leſſened by time, but the energies of her mind, the dignity of her rank, and the public partiality in her favour, rendered her a deſirable alliance for Ibegh. To her he had been indebted for his introduction to the regency under Turan Schah, and to her he was attached both from intereſt and affection; he therefore, when arrived at the Zenith of power, raiſed her to his bed and his throne. While Ibegh was taking means to ſecure himſelf in his government, the friends of Pharezeddin, incapable of reſiſting by exciting civil commotions, fled to Damaſcus, and at the court of the Sy-

rian prince of the houſe of Saladin, repreſented the evil conſequence of the Mamluke authority, and the policy of reſtoring the Ayubite prince, in whoſe cauſe Pharezeddin was ſacrificed. The application was received very favourably, and it is probable, that a new and ſanguinary war would have commenced if the Caliph had not again interpoſed, and if Ibegh had not confined his pretenſions for the future to the territory of Egypt; thus, after two years of regeneration, the friends of the aſſaſſinated officer were ultimately diſappointed.

In the year 1257, Ibegh began to feel confident of the maintenance of his authority, and forgot the ſervices the royal widow (now his wife) had conferred upon her ſlave. Of a wavering diſpoſition, and violent in his paſſions, he abandoned Schadjreddor, and placed his affections on a dependent of his court. Schadjreddor had been the wife and mother of ſucceſſive princes; the imperial ſtandard had been raiſed before her as the Sultaneſs of Egypt, and ſhe poſſeſſed the affections of every honeſt Egyptian heart. Her haughty mind could not endure the deſertion of Ibegh, and ſhe found aſſaſſins among her own domeſtics to deſtroy the adulterer as he entered the bath. She had the whole night to deliberate to whom ſhe ſhould offer the throne of her huſband. Seifeddin had been made acquainted with her intentions, and had endeavoured to diſſuade her from the deſperate act, he was therefore ſufficiently in her

confidence to inform him of its perpetration. The body of Ibegh had been dragged at midnight to the foot of her throne, and there it appeared, when Seifeddin came by her order to consult on the critical situation of affairs on which her life and the fate of the empire depended. Seifeddin was astonished at the audacity which jealousy had inspired; he saw the Sultan, before whom he had prostrated himself as the slave of his power, a mangled corpse at his feet, and he received from Schadjreddor the offer of the imperial turban which had become vacant by this act of violence. The acceptance of this proposal he declined, and he was so agitated by the variety of danger and difficulty by which the Sultaness was surrounded, that he retired without giving any opinion. In the hurry of the interval, she sent for Dgemaleddin and Azzeddin, of Aleppo, and offered to either of them the supremacy of the state; but however ambitious they might be of attaining such a situation, their courage was unequal to meet the peril to which it was exposed, and they also declined the distinction she offered them. These negociations continued during the whole night: she was firm and resolute, but the persons in whom she confided, although of the manly sex, did not possess the same manly spirit. When day appeared, so many were acquainted with the transaction, and so many were interested in its publication, that it was impossible to conceal it. Every Mamluke considered it a

conſpiracy againſt his party, and a general union of theſe Barbarians was formed to revenge the death of Ibegh. Noureddin Aly, ſon of the deceaſed Sultan, only fifteen years old, was nominated for the ſucceſſor. Schadjreddor, abandoned by her friends, and overpowered by her foes, was conducted to the Red Tower in the caſtle of the mountain, and a very ſhort time was allowed to this extraordinary woman to repent of the crime ſhe had committed in the frenzy of jealouſy. By order of the mother of the new prince, ſhe was aſſaſſinated and thrown naked into the foſſe of the caſtle, where her remains were diſfigured by hungry dogs; but reſpect for her memory occaſioned the bones to be afterwards collected, and to be conveyed beneath a ſplendid monument ſhe had built in her proſperity.* The great qualities of this woman had alternately ſaved and deſtroyed the country: ſhe was capable not only of forming, but of executing vaſt projects, and was undoubtedly ſuited to fill the moſt important ſtations in public life; but ambition knows no bounds, and in endeavouring to overleap the limits aſſigned to human nature, it occaſions its own deſtruction. The hiſtory of Ibegh ſhews him to be a man of no mean talents; whatever might be the defects of his character, although a Mamluke prince, he was the patron of learning, and notwithſtanding the political difficulties in which he was involved, he gave exten-

* Abu'lfeda Abu'lfaragius.

ſive employment to the artificers of the country, and on the ſhore of the Nile, in Old Cairo, built a college, to which he attached a princely eſtabliſhment.

As uſual, under any alteration of government by open violence, extenſive changes are made in the public adminiſtration. All thoſe who were known to be attached to the party of the late Sultaneſs, were, in courſe, removed from power; and many of them hoping to obtain protection at the court of Damaſcus, fled toward that city, but ſeveral were overtaken and killed by the adherents of the new prince. Thoſe that eſcaped to the court of Syria, met not only with a cold reception, but their ſchemes were fruſtrated by an ambaſſador from Damaſcus, who informed the new Sultan, that theſe malcontents were collecting their forces to dethrone him. A ſuſpicion was entertained that a cloſe alliance was formed between the inſurgents and the prince of Damaſcus, and that the embaſſy was only intended to deceive the young Sultan. The ſequel, however, perſuaded him of the ſincerity of the Syrian court. The rebels were ſurrounded and attacked by the Egyptian army near Gaza; ſome ſaved themſelves by flight, and ſubmitted to the Sultan in Egypt; others withdrew to Jeruſalem, from whence they haſtened to Gaza when abandoned by the Egyptian troops, and in revenge for the injury they had received, plundered whatever belonged to the court of Damaſcus. In the extremity of their affairs the enemies of the Sultan applied

to the prince of Kirak: they repreſented to him that Egypt was the kingdom of his anceſtors—that it was weakened by civil war; and contraſted the fair and luxuriant vale of the Nile with his own domains. The prince could not doubt of the advantages of the exchange, but he had much reaſon to queſtion the ſucceſs of the enterprize. Having little to fear, and much to hope, he joined his own troops to the inſurgents, and an engagement took place, in which he was defeated: he fled to his capital with as many of the malcontents as could effect their eſcape; thoſe who fell into the hands of the enemy were executed, and their heads were raiſed over the gates of Cairo. If Egypt obtained a ſuſpenſion from the ravages of war, it was not becauſe theſe powerful inſurgents were alarmed by the cruelties practiſed on their companions, or had diminiſhed in the ſentiment of animoſity they felt toward the neighbouring Sultan, but they had an unexpected enemy to oppoſe in the prince of Damaſcus, whoſe family connections and political intereſts they naturally thought would have induced him to afford them the means of ſucceſsful reſiſtance. In the year 1259, they obtained a victory near Gaza, from whence they proceeded to the very walls of Damaſcus, and inſulted the city. This offence occaſioned the Syrian prince to collect his forces, and to march towards Kirak, where they had taken refuge. The king was in no condition to oppoſe ſo formidable an enemy; he therefore complied with the requiſition to

deliver over this wandering and hoſtile banditti into the hands of the chief of Damaſcus, and they were all encloſed within the precincts of the caſtle of Aleppo, with the ſingle exception of Bibars, who had conciliated the favour of the Syrian prince by a previous offer of ſurrender.

In conſequence of theſe effectual means taken for the final reduction of the Egyptian fugitives, and the perfect harmony maintained between the courts of Cairo and Damaſcus, all would have been quiet in Egypt, if the encroachments of the Tartars had not daily encreaſed, ſo as to expoſe to danger the very exiſtence of Syria and Egypt, as independent empires. By theſe hardy invaders the prince of Damaſcus was now driven from his capital, and was forced to abandon his dominions; and they were advancing onward toward the vale of the Nile, which had ſo long been connected with the capital they now occupied. Koutouz repreſented to the Egyptians the peril of their ſituation with theſe deſperate enemies to oppoſe, ſo long as they were commanded by the preſent Sultan, whoſe infant years were unſuited to the ſtate of hoſtility to which the kingdom was expoſed. During the abſence of Seifeddin, whom we before mentioned, and who was the chief ſupport of the royal, or Moezzian party, Koutouz made the young Sultan a priſoner in his own ſeraglio, and procured himſelf to be proclaimed ſovereign. As the Moezzians returned to the capital, they were arreſted, to prevent the con-

ſequence of their well-known attachment to the young prince. Koutouz, on his acceding to this dignity, aſſumed the title of

MODHAFFER SEIFFEDDIN,

which implies the Conqueror of the Sword of Religion. All theſe princes, on mounting the throne, were honoured with ſurnames indicative of their proweſs, and of their regard of religion; and as theſe appellations were intended to recommend them to the people, we learn from them that military valour was not the only object of eſtimation, but that it was coupled with that reverence for religion which ſoftened the ferocity of man, and abundantly conduced to diffuſe the principles of humanity, which were ſeldom wholly abandoned by the Mahometans, even amidſt the confuſion and horrors of war.

It will be readily ſuppoſed, that the ſteady alliance of Naſr Youſouf (now an exile from his capital) had gained the hearts of the Egyptian people. Since the death of the imperial Saladin, the princes of his line, who had held the ſceptre of Damaſcus, had almoſt always been in a ſtate of hoſtility with the people of the Nile: this deſcendant, on the contrary, had not only ſuccoured their friends, but conquered their enemies. The young Sultan, previous to his depoſition, had called a grand aſſembly of the Emirs of Egypt, to conſider what ſhould be done for Naſr Youſouf in his preſent emergency; and, notwithſtanding every motive of gratitude, as well as intereſt, ſhould have in-

duced him to protect the falling prince, he diſappointed the expectations of the aſſembly, and did not make a ſingle propoſition for his relief.

The Moguls rolling downward from the north-eaſt in an irreſiſtible torrent, had acquired poſſeſſion of Bagdad—had deſolated Syria, and nothing remained unconquered in theſe vaſt diſtricts, excepting Egypt, Hedgiare, and Yemen. The year after Koutouz had become Sultan, he gratified the expectations of his people by forming an offenſive and defenſive alliance with Manſur, king of Hama, to oppoſe theſe enemies of the Muſſulman faith. The allies collected their forces at Gaza, and advanced to Gour, where the Moguls were encamped with the princes of various nations, whom they had forced into their ſervice. Kathoga commanded the Tartarian forces; a deſperate engagement enſued, in which the Mogul general loſt his life, and Koutouz obtained a deciſive victory. The Egyptians now rejoiced in the nomination of a general who was fitted to head their troops, and who was capable of checking the progreſs of theſe haughty barbarians. Manſur, in conſequence of the event of the battle, was re-eſtabliſhed in Hama and Bahrin; and even Maara, which had ſo long been in dependence on the prince of Aleppo, was reſtored to its ancient ſovereign. Salamia, Koutouz gave to the Emir of the Arabians, and ordered the head of Said, king of Sobaiba, to be ſtruck off. Having made the neceſſary arrangements, the new Sultan proceeded to-

wards Damaſcus, to aſſiſt the inhabitants in driving the barbarians out of their city. The Moguls, during their reſidence there, had formed a connection with the Chriſtian ſectaries, in conſequence of which every enormity was practiſed, derogatory to the Mahometan name. Not only the moſques were profaned, but wine was thrown at the adherents of the creſcent. As Koutouz approached, every thing was changed; the Moguls were forced to abandon the city, the Jews and Chriſtians were conſidered as common enemies, and the indignities they had offered were punctually returned. Koutouz had promiſed the government of Aleppo to Bibars, as a reward for his fidelity to Naſr Youſout, and for his purſuit and deſtruction of the Moguls, when they fled from the confines of Syria; but, inſtead of complying with this engagement, he aſſigned the government to Alaeddin, of which he had afterwards ſerious cauſe to repent. Nothing ſeemed to interrupt the progreſſive authority of Koutouz; wherever his arms appeared, he either obtained conqueſt, or received ſubmiſſion. Not only Aſchrat, king of Ameſſa, but large bodies of the proud Tartarians condeſcended to acknowledge the ſupremacy of a Mamluke prince, and he was the firſt of that race which eſtabliſhed viceroyalties on the Aſiatic continent. But he had made Bibars his enemy, and the courage which could triumph over embattled armies, could not protect him againſt a ſecret foe. Bibars had plotted with a Mamluke, named Ans, to aſſaſſi-

nate the Sultan: Koutouz was proceeding to Egypt, attended by theſe two diſtinguiſhed followers, and a numerous guard, when a hare riſing before his horſe, the Sultan purſued it. Ans and Bibars ſeeing him far removed from his body-guard, having agreed on their plan, rode up to him. The former, as he approached, pretended to aſk a boon of him, which being inſtantly granted, the courtier was preparing to perform the uſual ceremony of kiſſing the hand of his prince, when Bibars ſtruck Koutouz with his ſabre: they then threw him off his horſe, and finiſhed the deed. Bibars, having thus gratified his revenge, ſought to improve the preſent opportunity for his own advancement to the higheſt honours; he therefore immediately went to Salchia to the Atabek, and this ſhort converſation placed him on the throne:—"Who" ſaid the Atabek, "killed the Sultan?" "I," ſaid Bibars. "Then" returned the Atabek, "reign in his ſtead."

Koutouz had governed only eleven months and thirteen days, but had attained more glory in this ſhort interval, than many active and able princes acquire during a long reign. He had been the ſlave of Ibegh, and both in his public and private conduct had been diſtinguiſhed for his prudence and diſcernment.

BIBARS

aſcended to the imperial dignity while he was yet ſtained with the blood of his maſter. He was originally of Kapthae, and had been handed over from

one proprietor to another, as a marketable commodity. His maſter, Alaeddin, became one of his officers. He owed his firſt advancement to his undaunted courage, which introduced him into the ſervice of Turan Schah; and on the ſucceſſion of Ibegh, he was among the fugitives who ſought protection in Syria. The decided part he had taken on various occaſions, and his military reputation, recommended him to the Egyptian Emirs. All the ſoldiery had taken the oath of allegiance to him, and on his arrival in the vicinity of Cairo, he entered in triumph the caſtle of the mountain, and was univerſally acknowledged at home and abroad. The firſt acts of his reign were conciliatory; the priſons were emptied of their pale inhabitants, and the avarice of the military was gratified by his munificence. He ſoon turned his attention to Aleppo, of the government of which he had been defrauded. He was informed that his rival was no longer in authority; the Moguls had advanced on the city, had taken poſſeſſion of it and of Hama, and the allies, with the forces of Damaſcus, were uniting againſt the invaders. The Moguls, commanded by Baidar, were defeated, their general, with a few followers, alone eſcaped from the enraged enemy. Bibars, in conſequence of his authority on the Aſiatic continent, decided the fate of empires. Ilmeddin had aſcended the throne of Damaſcus, and afterwards was defeated by Alaeddin, when the latter was permitted to retain the government of Damaſcus, but

the former prince was hoſpitably received at the court of Cairo.

In the year 1261, ſome diſcontented Emirs fled to Syria, and Acoufch had the ſucceſs to take Aleppo; but he was ſoon diſlodged, and the authority of Bibars in this remote and important dependence was reeſtabliſhed.

We have often, in the courſe of our hiſtory, had occaſion to notice the advantageous effect of the influence of the Caliphs at the court of Egypt. Saladin had cultivated in the minds of the people profound reſpect for the Abaſſides, and the ſame diſpoſition was promoted by all the members of the Ayubite dynaſty. When the Mamlukes ſucceeded to the empire, they had not the ſame difficulties to encounter which Saladin had overcome. Inſtead of oppoſing, by open acts, the religious prejudices of the people, they were ſincere adherents to the profeſſion of the Ayubites, and founded their government not on the ruin of the old religion, but on the ſtrength acquired by the new. Moſtaſem had been killed by the Moguls, when in the year 1261, a prince of the Abaſſides ſought refuge in Egypt. Bibars received him with all the veneration due to the ſacred character of the Caliph, partly from a ſenſe of religion, and partly from motives of policy. Notwithſtanding the power he poſſeſſed in Aſia, his government in the ſeat of empire was not ſecure. He had recently witneſſed the diſloyalty of ſome of his moſt powerful ſubjects, and

he was anxious to acquire the reſpect and affection of all the inhabitants of Egypt, that he might purſue the ſchemes of his ambition in Aſia, without being interrupted by internal commotions. For this purpoſe the Caliph, who came as a ſuitor to his court, was made the arbiter of his fate; the royal turban was reſigned into the hands of the illuſtrious deſcendant of Abbas, and a momentary interregnum was permitted, until he ſhould determine who ſhould be worthy his election to the throne of Egypt. Bibars, as might be preſumed, was not diſappointed; in the preſence of the grandees of the realm, he received the nomination to the duties of ſtate, by the awful mandate of the Caliph, and he no longer appeared the murderer of his prince, and the uſurper of his empire, but the legitimate ſovereign of the Egyptian vale. Bibars having availed himſelf of this ceremony, for the greater ſecurity of his government admitted the Emir Azzeddin Idmor within the royal caſtle of the mountain, and aſſigned to him the regency during his abſence in the Aſiatic dependencies. He went to Damaſcus, and acquired the attachment of the princes in his progreſs by his exceſſive liberality. In that city his attention was not merely directed to military affairs, but to increaſe the opulence of his ſubjects: he gave audience to ambaſſadors from Michael Palæologus, Emperor of Conſtantinople, and negociated with them a commercial treaty, by which his ſubjects were admitted to all the advantages of the trade in

the Euxine ſea. Many princes of the Ayubite race occupied the higheſt dignities in the Syrian governments. Notwithſtanding Bibars and his Mamluke predeceſſors, had deſtroyed the authority of that family in Egypt; in Aſia he conciliated their friendſhip and obtained their alliance, or rather ſecured their dependence.

Moſtanſer, the Caliph, had been ſupported by Bibars in his projects of ambition againſt the barbarian hordes who occupied the ancient ſeat of his empire, and he had obtained by the zeal and courage of his followers, conſiderable ſucceſs; but on the coaſt of Anbar he met the army of the Turcomans, and after a deſperate battle, was defeated, and was never afterwards heard of. Acouſch, poſterior to his deſertion, had enjoyed a very ſhort triumph; he was reduced to the precincts of Bera, when he ſubmitted to the Sultan, whoſe moderation permitted this fugitive Emir to enjoy that government. Alaeddin's conduct at Damaſcus had become ſo oppreſſive, as to be intolerable to the people; he was in conſequence arreſted, and deprived of his authority. In the year 1262, after a ſhort abſence, Bibars had returned again to Syria, with a powerful Egyptian force, to attract reſpect from the Aſiatic princes. At Gaza the mother of the Prince of Kirak made ſubmiſſion to him, and obtained letters of ſurety from him for her ſon.

It was a part of the religion of Bibars to reſent the incroachments of the Chriſtians, he therefore entered

their territories, aſcended mount Sinai, and ravaged the whole country in the vicinity of Ptolemais. It appears the Templars had not ſurrendered the priſoners of the Sultan, according to his requiſition; he therefore entered the country with thirty thouſand horſe, and the Chriſtians, weakened by continued hoſtility, were unable to reſiſt this formidable force. Kirak and Emeſſa no longer pretended to any independent authority, but ſubmitted to his power. Finding his arms every where invincible, he turned his attention to the interior, to promote the happineſs of his ſubjects. At Cairo he erected a great collegiate inſtitution, and a houſe of inſtruction for adults; an extenſive library was eſtabliſhed under his patronage, and learning was diffuſed through all the ranks of ſociety. The indigent were not forgotten. The remote and perilous conteſts in which he had been engaged, had occaſioned a numerous tribe of orphans to be thrown on the mercy of the community; theſe he no longer permitted to be the ſubjects of precarious bounty, but made ample proviſion for their maintenance. The danger of travelling through countries accuſtomed to predatory violence, led him to ſet up a caravan at Jeruſalem, for the numerous travellers who reſorted to the holy city, and a college was likewiſe endowed at Damaſcus, for the promotion of ſcience in the Syrian capital.

His incurſions on the Aſiatic continent became now extremely frequent; the deſtruction of the Chriſtians

was a favourite project, and his dominion in Syria was perhaps now more extenſive and more important, than his Egyptian empire: but the expences of his government increaſed at leaſt in an equal extent with the reſources of his treaſury. His munificence knew no bounds, and he was the firſt Mamluke who introduced a ſyſtem of enormous expence, which required for its ſupport, either the moſt ſucceſsful hoſtility, or the moſt beneficial employment of the arts of peace.

In 1264, he went in perſon to Paleſtine, and ravaged the country adjacent to Ramla and Aſkalon, and having ſeized upon Cæſaria, he returned to Egypt. Two years afterwards, we find him again conducting his invincible troops to Saphad, before which he appeared with an immenſe train of engines. The garriſon, when they ſaw the towers riſe above their battlements, and a new tower erected beneath their walls, deſpaired of a ſucceſsful oppoſition, and offered to capitulate. It was in vain that they would agree to ſacrifice every thing excepting their religion; contrary to the uſual moderation of the Mahometan conquerors, he required the inhabitants to embrace the faith he profeſſed. It ſeems that the religion of the creſcent, when grafted on the ferocity of the Mamluke character, loſt a portion of its beneficent ſpirit. Two friars hurried through the ranks of the garriſon, and diſplayed before the Chriſtian ſoldiery the glory of martyrdom, and eth

rewards of heaven. They deſpiſed the tyrant while they ſubmitted to his ſuperior power, and ſix hundred Chriſtian heads were ſtruck off by the ſabre of the adverſary. As ſoon as he had entered the city, he gave directions neceſſary for the repair of its fortifications, and proceeded toward Damaſcus, which he entered in triumph. While before Saphat he received, among other embaſſies, one from the king of Armenia, which was not favourably entertained: the conquering Mamluke looked to the heights of Caucaſus as the northern limit of his authority, and the tribute he exacted had not been paid by this diſtant and powerful vaſſal; in conſequence of which, he had cut off the lucrative trade of the Armenian merchants with Egypt, and the ſubjects of the Sultan were no longer permitted to ſupply the wants of the Armenians from the ſtores of their abundance. D'Harton, finding it impoſſible to conciliate, prepared to oppoſe Bibars at the hazard of his empire. The Moguls now occupying Aſia Minor, the king of Armenia invited them to paſs the chain of mountains that ſeparate that vaſt and opulent region from Leſſer Armenia, and to join his troops which hung over the frontier. Whatever might be the inclination of the Moguls to deſcend into the fertile plains of the Euphrates, they declined this propoſal, and the anſwer they gave to D'Harton was, that they had neither the permiſſion nor orders of their Khan to proſecute any conqueſts in that quarter. They had

now obtained a ſort of univerſal empire. In the extremity of the eaſt they occupied the whole of China and the territory of the Eluths; excepting Indoſtan, all the nations had been ſwept before their power from the empire, and the Perſian gulph to the eaſtern ocean. The neceſſary conſequence of this wide empire was, that powerful chiefs ſhould aſſiſt in wielding a ſceptre which was far too weighty for the human arm; yet the Khan was the great ſource of authority, and however remote or powerful, they chearfully ſubmitted to his mandates.

Before Bibars (notwithſtanding his uſual precipitation) could enter the defiles of the country, they were occupied by the troops of D'Harton; he committed to his two ſons the important charge of their defence: the Egyptians poured onward, nothing could obſtruct their progreſs, and the unfortunate D'Harton loſt one of his ſons amongſt the ſlain, and the other was ſecured as a ſtate priſoner of the conqueror. The Sultan now ſpread deſtruction in the heart of Leſſer Armenia, and at Cara he ruined a ſettlement of the Franks, and ſent their children into Egypt. Bibars, crowned with laurels, now returned to Cairo, where he gave audience to the ambaſſadors of the King of Yemen, who ſubmitted in the name of their maſter, and preſented him with an elephant, with ſome ſavage aſſes of a peculiar colour, with a train of horſes, and with ſome of the beautiful manufactures of China. His

unceasing industry and persevering enmity against the Christians, induced him to attack Japha in the year 1268, where the Franks, to prevent pillage, purchased their security at the price of forty thousand pieces of silver, and were permitted to abandon the place with all their effects, and to take shipping for their settlement at Akka. Determined that this place should no longer obstruct the progress of his troops, he levelled the fortifications with the ground, and destroyed the city. He then proceeded to Beaufort, ravaged the vicinity of Tripoly, and forced the garrison of the Kurdes to pay a thousand pieces for the lives of the Mussulmans they had sacrificed. He then laid siege to Antioch, passing Hama in his progress. Bœmond, prince of that city, knowing his incapacity to resist the superior power of Bibars, offered to capitulate. The Sultan rejected the proposal, the city was twelve miles in circumference, and was defended by thirty-six formidable towers. Accustomed to victory, his soldiers attacked the fortifications with irresistible fury: this ancient and opulent city was taken by assault, and became a prey to the avarice and cruelty of the foreign army. Forty thousand Christians perished by the edge of the sword, and a hundred thousand were consigned to the horrors of slavery.

The king of Armenia was instructed by this serious lesson; the fair plains of the Euphrates invited

the ambition of Bibars, and D'Harton was now apprized that he muſt either reſign his empire, or humble himſelf to a condition of dependence on the Egyptian prince: he prudently determined on the latter, and his gallant ſon in conſequence was releaſed from diſhonourable captivity. Bibars, returning to Egypt crowned with glory, gave orders to his general in his way to take poſſeſſion of the port of Prebonel, or Bogros, which was the laſt act of any importance during the campaign.

The Sultan being arrived at Cairo, and having attained the zenith of human authority, began to reflect on the perpetuity of this power in the deſcendants of his own loins. All the grandees who attended the brilliant court of his capital were aſſembled, and by his command ſwore fealty to Saïd Bereke Khan, his favourite ſon. Having finiſhed this duty, which he conſidered ſo important both to the peace of his mind and his kingdom, with all the pride of power and conqueſt he repaired to his Syrian capital of Damaſcus. He there received a ſingular embaſſy from the Mogul empire. He was told that Abaka Khan had deſcended from the eaſtern world to viſit his weſtern government, and that he had killed all the princes who had dared to reſiſt his invincible armies. "If you," ſaid the ambaſſador, in the lofty tone of Sarmatan pride, "do not either aſcend to the height of heaven, or deſcend to the abyſs of the ocean, you can find no aſylum. You are only a

ſlave, and the Khan demands of you why you preſume to rebel againſt the king of the earth?" Bibars condeſcended to make no anſwer to the Tartarian chief, but coolly obſerved to thoſe about him, that he reclaimed all the Moguls had conquered in Aſia Minor and Syria, and if they would not peaceably reſign it, he ſhould immediately proceed to repoſſeſs the country. The hiſtory of Bibars ſometimes reſembles the fiction of dramatic repreſentation. This active and energetic prince was doubtful, if all proceeded in a regular courſe in his Egyptian capital; he therefore ſuddenly left Damaſcus in diſguiſe, his abſence was wholly unknown to the troops: in the ſame diſguiſe he entered Cairo, and for four days the Sultan of Egypt condeſcended to become a menial ſervant in his own court to examine into the conduct of his vicegerents. No doubt, he learnt what was ſufficient to mortify his pride, and moderate the ſenſibilities of perſonal ambition: he was, however, contented with the general conduct of affairs, and again returned undiſcovered to Damaſcus. He now made ſome exchanges of territory, and proceeding to Saphad, renewed his favourite ſcheme of perſecuting the Franks, who began to conſider him as a demon of deſtruction. He ravaged the country adjacent to the city of Tyre, and collected a prodigious booty. He now deſcended from Paleſtine along the ſhore of the Dead ſea, to the eaſtern bays of the Arabian gulphs, and advancing through the territories of the

wandering Arabs on its eaſtern ſhore, arrived at the holy city of Medina, where he made immenſe preſents. From thence he advanced onward to Mecca, receiving in his route the ſubmiſſion of the princes of that country. Here he religiouſly obſerved all the ceremonies of the Mahometan perſuaſion, and having relieved his conſcience by theſe ſacred duties, he returned to Medina, and the tomb of the Prophet. From thence he went by the way of Arabian Kirak to Damaſcus. It ſeems that the prieſts of Mecca had inflamed his anger againſt the unfortunate Franks; for on his return to Egypt he paid them a viſit near Ptolemais, and laid waſte their territories. In conſequence of theſe frequent incurſions by this powerful infidel, the Franks ſought reinforcements from their weſtern government, when Ferdinand Sancho, ſon of James of Aragon, entered the eaſtern ports of the Mediterranean with a powerful army. They were now determined to ſtrike a deciſive blow, and for this purpoſe, (to divide his attention between his African and his Aſiatic territories) one Chriſtian army advanced into the interior of Syria, while another in their ſhipping, entered the haven of Alexandria. The active Bibars hurried from Egypt to Syria, and from Syria to Egypt, conſtant in his exertions for the preſervation and glory of his empire. At Aſkalon he deſtroyed ſome of the fortifications, and among the ruins was diſcovered a vaſe full of golden treaſure, which he in-

ſtantly divided with his followers. In 1271, he made peace with the prince of Tripoly, but not without the condition of receiving half his dominions and ſome inferior conceſſions. The inhabitants of Carin, on his approach, had abandoned the town to preſerve the proviſions for the garriſon, that the tyrant might be humbled and his progreſs interrupted. A long and vigorous defence was made by a choſen body of troops: the fortifications were ſecured by ſtone of remarkable denſity, and huge bars of iron. The ſuperior fortunes of the Sultan, however triumphed over every reſiſtance, and the place was at laſt obliged to capitulate. Both on the hills and in the plains, in their cities, or in their ports, the Franks were obliged to give way before the ſucceſs of his arms.

Bibars now received intelligence that the king of Cyprus had entered with his fleet the port of Ptolemais: he therefore took this opportunity of making an attack upon that iſland. The fleet of Bibars moored below the iſland before the king had information of his approach, it was, however, quickly deſtroyed by a ſtorm, and the iſle of Cyprus was thus reſcued from the ambition of the Sultan. Little accuſtomed to diſappointment, he felt ſeverely this misfortune; it ſpread a gloom over his mind which expreſſed itſelf in a ſpirit of perſecution. It was made death at Cairo for perſons of any perſuaſion to partake of the luxury of wine, which occa-

ſioned a loſs to the capital of a thouſand pieces of gold per diem.

He ſoon ordered another fleet to be built, and went to the arſenal of the Nile to inſpect the operations for the reſtoration of his naval force, when his ſhip was overturned, and he was nearly drowned.

During his abſence in Africa, the Moguls deſcended from the mountains on the weſtern ridges of Armenia, and paſſing the city of Antioch, committed dreadful ravages around the territory of Aleppo. Bibars ſoon directed his forces to join in the neighbourhood, and the purſuit of the enemy was commenced, but the war was merely predatory, and the Moguls had retired with their booty.

The Franks now began to conſider that an alliance with the bold Tartarian intruders was the only means of ſecurity againſt this Mahometan prince, whoſe enmity they had ſo grievouſly incurred, and a treaty was actually concluded about the year 1272. Bibars being determined to ſend his whole force againſt the Moguls, now ſacrificed his private enmity for the Chriſtians, and after a life of hoſtility againſt them, concluded a truce with Hugo de Luſignan before Ptolemais, for the ſingular term of ten years, ten months, ten days, and ten hours. He then commenced his expedition againſt the hardy warriors of the Khan, and proceeding from Aleppo, deſtroyed a great number of fortreſſes in his progreſs. The embaſſy of the Moguls did not at all correſpond

with the feebleneſs of their hoſtile oppoſition; he followed them to Bira and to ſeveral other places, and where he could encounter them, he gained ſome ſucceſſes. That town he entered, where he ſeized on all the Moguls, whom he conducted as priſoners of ſtate to Cairo, feeling ſome malicious pleaſure at the ſuperiority he ſhewed over theſe haughty invaders. After theſe events, he diſtributed three hundred thouſand pieces of gold in largeſſes to his army. In the ſucceeding year (1273) he paid particular attention to the adminiſtration of juſtice in his capital, the conſequence of which was, that venality was ſuppreſſed, and the appearance of the ſovereign in the courts gave dignity to the diſcharge of this important part of public duty; and juſtice, prompt and ſevere, was rendered for the protection of public and private rights. It ſeems highly probable, that about the year 1275, the king of Lower Armenia, by increaſing his connection with the Moguls, had given to the Sultan ſerious cauſe of offence. From the ſources of the hill to the mountains of Armenia, through an extent of 20 degrees of latitude, Bibars claimed ſupremacy. He advanced, therefore, on Armenia, ſpread devaſtation through the country, killed twenty thouſand inhabitants, ſent ten thouſand children of both ſexes into captivity, and recruited his cavalry with thirty thouſand horſes. Not only thoſe who were found in arms, but thoſe who purſued the peaceful occupations of commerce, were

exposed to the consequences of his displeasure. The prince of the country fled with his horse into the mountains, and the merchants, driven from their homes, sought security in their ships. After these successes, Bibars took Gophos, between Hasem and Antioch, and then returned to his Egyptian capital.

The conqueror Saladin, the great founder of the Ayubite family, had in vain attempted to effect the passage of his armies over the vast deserts that intervene between the kingdoms of Egypt and Nubia, and a general of his own blood, of undoubted talents and bravery, had returned disappointed from the southern limits of his empire. Bibars was more successful, he made war with the king of Nubia, brought him captive to Cairo, and his kingdom was humbled to the rank of dependence on the Egyptian empire for the first time, under a Mamluke sovereign.

At this time the capital of Egypt was given up to a long season of festivity: Bereke Khan, the son of the Sultan and appointed heir of the empire, had formed a matrimonial alliance, and what was very remarkable in the history of this reign, the ambassadors of the Franks and of the Moguls assisted at the solemn ceremony. But a peace could not long continue between the Sultan and the sovereigns of those ambassadors. Bibars soon after vanquished Beroviana, general of the Moguls, near Ablestain, when he over-ran the whole country and made himself master of Cæsaria. The year 1277 was the last

of his long reign, and whether his existence was terminated by accident or design, it is not easy to determine. His life was glorious, his death disgraceful. This year, while he was at Damascus, there happened to be an eclipse of the moon, by which reasons the astrologers of the east supposed the life of some illustrious prince was to be sacrificed. The Sultan partook of this great prejudice, and in order to fulfil the intentions of providence, and preserve at the same time his own existence, he directed that a prince of the royal line of Saladin should drink poison. The dose was prepared, and the cup in which it was disguised was left in the apartment of Bibars; he inadvertently drank it, and became the sacrifice of his own cruelty.

Such was the end of this extraordinary man, after a reign of nineteen years and three months. By his intrepidity, energy, prudence, and military talents, he gave consistence and stability to the Mamluke empire. He stopped the progress of the Tartarian conquerors, re-established the dying cause of Mahometanism, and reduced the Franks to submission. The remote kingdom of Armenia submitted to his power, and from the palace of Cairo he issued his mandates to the obedient borderers of the Euphrates. Nubia became a dependent province of his empire, and her king was made a prisoner within the walls of his capital. He supplied the poor with bread, and the widows and infants of those who fell in the holy

of battle, were the objects of his peculiar regard and protection. By his wisdom and assiduity—by his activity and courage, he became minutely acquainted with all the affairs of his government; with the situation of his provinces, the disposition of his Emirs, and the wants of his people. The enormous expences of his government introduced among the Mamluke princes those habits of prodigality, which, at the same time that it gave splendour to their government, considerably injured the public revenue. He built a treasury in the Castle of the Mountain, and thus the weighty business of finance was completely separated from the other departments. This part of the edifice was fortified with towers, and the principal hall was ornamented with twelve pillars of marble, and decorated with paintings. It had been found that the public offices within the walls of Cairo had been inconvenient, from the frequent quarrels that had arisen between the slaves of the Emirs on public duty, and the citizens of the capital; he therefore built a superb palace without the walls, which was devoted to the great offices of state. He constructed several bridges over the Nile at Cairo and Alexandria, and one of extraordinary magnificence over the grand canal. Numerous baths were built, aqueducts were extended, mosques were repaired, and the lofty dome of Mikias was elevated by his orders. His improvements were not confined to Egypt; edifices rose before his commands in the sands of Arabia, and on the shores of

the Mediterranean; and the fortreſſes of Syria, raiſed under his orders, contributed to the ſecurity of his Aſiatic territories againſt the hoſtile bands of the Mogul empire. To conclude, he was the patron of learning, and the reſtorer of the laws. Hiſtory was the ſubject to which he was peculiarly attached. After his death the event was carefully concealed until information could be given to

BEREKE KHAN,

his ſon, who was then only nineteen years old. When the meſſengers arrived in the preſence of the new Sultan, he complimented them with the ſum of fifty thouſand drachmas. The armies proceeded from Damaſcus to Egypt, following the litter of the deceaſed Sultan as if he were yet alive. When they arrived at the Caſtle of the Mountain, the melancholy news was communicated of the death of their favourite monarch, and allegiance was ſworn to the young prince, who entered Cairo in triumph. Never did a monarch aſcend the throne under more favourable circumſtances, yet the imbecility of his mind diſappointed all the expectations of the friends of his father, and two years, two months, and fifteen days, was the ſhort period of his perturbed reign. His predeceſſor maintained his authority over his miniſters. Bereké Khan was the ſtate ſlave of thoſe who ſurrounded him: whether in Egypt or in Syria he was conſtantly governed by the Emirs of the palace, and the difference between the energy of the father and the debi-

lity of his ſon, was ſoon apparent in all the meaſures of the court. Notwithſtanding the ſpirit and talents of Bibars, ſo conducive to render the Mamluke name reſpectable, a conſiderable party yet remained in Egypt, and who were the decided enemies of theſe ancient ſlaves of the Ayubites. The young Sultan conſtantly liſtened to the inſinuations of the Halca, and favoured the Mamluke intereſt, contrary to the exerciſe of that diſcretion which would lead him to conciliate the favour of all the parties under his authority. This partiality had excited much diſguſt when he proceeded to receive the oath of allegiance from his Aſiatic ſubjects in the Syrian capital. At Damaſcus, however, he was received with great indications of public joy, but the news of his inability had ſpread over the provinces of his empire, and in its wide extent there were numerous malcontents who were anxious to avail themſelves of the firſt opportunity of ſhewing their contempt and diſaffection for this degenerate offspring of the victorious Bibars. During his abſence, thoſe he had diſguſted in Cairo no longer confined their oppoſition to ſecret ſchemes; the language of open rebellion was heard, his immediate return was neceſſary, and he had ſcarcely entered the Caſtle of the Mountain, when it was beſieged. He was conſtrained to accept the government of Kirak, where he died.

This prince was more ſuited to domeſtic life than to the ſcenes of public duty, in this ſanguinary period

of Mamluke history: although weak in his intellects, he was obliging in his temper, and generous in his actions: he respected justice; and, from motives of gentleness and humanity, loved peace and detested war. In the year 1277, he was succeeded by

SAMALESCH,

his brother, a child only seven years old. Kalaoun was advanced to the dignity of Atabek, and a sort of independent sovereignty was attached to his situation, which sufficiently indicated his future intentions. Not only the important department of the army and the finances were under his absolute controul, but even the coin of the country was issued with the name of the prince on one side, and of the minister on the other. After the interval of a few months, when affairs were sufficiently prepared, the infant Sultan was sent to his brother, and

KALAOUN

ascended the throne of Egypt. Kalaoun, on his accession, assumed the titles of Manfour (the victorious) Seifeddin (the sword of religion) and d'Aboul Fouthouh (the father of victories.)

As soon as the news of this event was announced at the court of Damascus, Sanchar el Aschar, who was at that time governor, revolted, and was publicly proclaimed prince of Syria, under the title of Malek al Kamel Schamseddin (the perfect king, the sun of religion*.)

* This usurper was originally named d'Alfi, from Alf, which signifies a thousand, the Emir Ascancar having bought him for a

Both parties prepared for war*, and Gaza was the unfortunate place of colliſion where Kalaoun was alternately vanquiſhed and victorious. Sanchar el Aſchar, after his defeat, returned to the field, not only ſupported by the troops of Aleppo and Hama, but by the Arabians of the deſert. The battle recommenced, and for a long time the victory remained doubtful, but at laſt a party of the Syrians going over to the enemy in the evening of the day, the event was decided: Sanchar el Aſchar, however, ſtood firm until he ſaw the Arabians fly on all ſides. His own troops took a direction north, ſeeking refuge in the foreſts of Damaſcus, in the country of Balbeck: he himſelf joined the Arabians, and ſought ſecurity in the deſart. The general of Kalaoun purſued him with three thouſand choſen troops, in the wilds of Ilmeddin Sandgier, but returned diſappointed, and then entered, in the name of his maſter, the Syrian capital. While his affairs were in this unfortunate ſtate, Sanchar el Aſchar had ſhut himſelf up, with a few reſolute adherents, in the fort of Sahioun: he here meditated the plan of an alliance with the Moguls, who, about this time, were ravaging the city and territories of

thouſand pieces of gold. Afterwards he was received into the ſervice of Nodjmo'ddin Ayub, and was called Sachi el Nodjemi, which implies that he belonged to Nodjmo'ddin. The blunders of modern hiſtorians are very frequent in theſe names which depend on the Arabian page. Lewis Mainbourg, by miſtake, calls this perſon Elfis inſtead of d'Alfi, and Meſſor for el Manſour.

* Abu'lfaragius, Abu'lfeda, Abu'lmahaſen.

Aleppo, where they acquired an immenſe booty. After the ſevere leſſons in which he had been inſtructed, the maxims of prudence began to ſucceed to the projects of ambition in the breaſt of Sanchar el Aſchar, and he at laſt determined to ſubmit, with all his Emirs, to the authority of the Egyptian Sultan. In the year 1281, Kalaoun took his departure for Damaſcus, after having adopted the neceſſary meaſures for the peaceable ſucceſſion of Alaeddin Aly to the throne of Egypt. At this time ſome differences aroſe with the Franks, who were reviving their courage after theſe changes in the adjacent ſovereignties. The Chriſtians having beaten a troop of Turcoman horſemen, Kalaoun commiſſioned Seifeddin Balban, governor of Kirak,* to oppoſe them. This officer ſet out with two thouſand horſe and three thouſand foot, in conſequence of this order, and preſumed with this force to commence the ſiege of Markab, which he was ſoon conſtrained to abandon. After this event, Kalaoun, in his Aſiatic dominions, entered into various nego-

* This place, which is ſituated near Tripoly, muſt not be confounded with a town of the ſame name on the confines of the Arabian deſart. M. de Guignes, to whom we are greatly indebted for the account we give of the Mamluke empire, has fallen into this miſtake, which it is the more neceſſary to notice, becauſe his laborious accuracy and profound learning have ſo completely eſtabliſhed his credit, that the modern hiſtorian is likely to be deceived by his authority. It is but juſtice to ſay, that this error he has himſelf acknowledged at the concluſion of his work, when it was too late to correct it in the details of his hiſtory.

ciations with the ambaſſadors of the Franks, and of the king of Hama, and into a more important one with Sanchar el Aſchar, in which the latter reſigned all future pretenſions to the Syrian throne. After theſe tranſactions the Sultan collected the whole of his Egyptian army, with the auxiliaries, the Turcomans and Arabians, and proceeded northward toward Damaſcus, to oppoſe the progreſs of the Moguls, who, heated with their ſucceſſes in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, ventured to proceed in the way to Emeſſa, where Kalaoun, and his new friend Sanchar el Aſchar, with fifty thouſand troops, now waited their approach.

The army of the Moguls was a hundred thouſand ſtrong, under the gallant Mengo Timour. At ſunriſe the battle commenced, when the right wing of the Sultan was forced to give way, and was purſued by the daring enemy. The Moguls darted with equal impetuoſity on the left wing, and the reſult was alſo unfortunate for the Mahometans. Kalaoun, however, and Sanchar el Aſchar, continued to ſupport the centre, while they were deſerted on both ſides by their companions in arms. It is highly probable that the whole of the army of Kalaoun would have been deſtroyed, if, at a critical moment, Mengo Timour had not received a wound, which rendered the exertion of his talents from that time impoſſible. Confuſion was ſpread through the multitudes of the barbarians; the ſteady conduct of Kalaoun and Sanchar el Aſchar

revived the courage of their troops; they bore down upon their enemies, who fled on all ſides, and vaſt numbers periſhed in the waters of the Euphrates.

Kalaoun, after this deciſive victory, returned in triumph to Damaſcus, amid the vociferous acclamations of his obedient ſlaves. The Mogul priſoners appeared in his train, ſuſtaining the heads of their countrymen on the points of their ſpears. Aleppo, in conſequence of this important defeat, was ſurrendered to its former proprietors; and at this period an event took place which was deemed of the firſt conſideration to the Mahometan intereſt: Almed, who had aſcended to the throne of the Moguls, abandoning the tenets of his barbarian horde and of his gallant predeceſſors, had embraced Muſſulmaniſm.

It was judged neceſſary, notwithſtanding, to adopt every means of ſecurity to prevent the future inroads of the Moguls; Cara Sancar had been appointed governor of Aleppo, and was thus placed in the immediate ſcene of activity: he received orders to march with a competent force to Kakhta, which he captured, and adopting the improvements introduced into the art of fortification, converted it into a powerful bulwark, to prevent the encroachments of the neighbouring enemy.

While the Sultan was at Damaſcus, in the year 1284, the city and country was ſubjected to a terrible inundation; the cattle were carried off, trees were torn up by the roots, and the property of the country was

ſacrificed. In the enſuing year Kalaoun collected his troops before Markab, in the capture of which he had been previouſly diſappointed. It was a place of great ſtrength, belonging to the Hoſpitallers. This part of our hiſtory is not the leſs intereſting becauſe the royal hiſtorian, Abu'lfeda, to whom we are extenſively indebted in theſe details, bore a part in the tranſactions. He was then a boy of twelve years old, and was preſent at the ſiege, under the care of his father. The beſieged poſſeſſed engines of extraordinary magnitude and power, ſo that ponderous miſſiles were ſent from the walls, by which great deſtruction was occaſioned in the army of the aſſailants, and many Emirs were ſacrificed. After the ſiege had continued ſome time, the Chriſtians, finding reſiſtance would be ineffectual againſt this powerful foe, propoſed to give up the place if they obtained permiſſion to retire with all their effects. This condition being rejected, the ſiege proceeded, until the Sultan conſented that the Chriſtians ſhould reſerve all they could carry away with them, excepting their arms. The latter had ſcarcely, in compliance with theſe terms, retired to Antharſous, when Kalaoun demanded that ſtrong fortreſs to be delivered into his hands, and all the Muſſulmen priſoners. To the latter the Franks immediately acceded, but with reſpect to the former, they urged that the place was not their own, and therefore neither policy nor common juſtice would permit the ſurrender. The Sultan was deaf

to all their expoſtulations, and the general of the Hoſpitallers was obliged to purchaſe the place to comply with the imperious order. In the year 1286, Kalaoun returned to Egypt, but did not diſcontinue his military operations in Aſia. The Emir, Tharantai, was commiſſioned to take Kirak, which belonged to one of the unfortunate ſons of the late Sultan. The officer of Kalaoun was ſucceſsful, and the next year he took Sahioun and Baradæia, both which belonged to Sanchar el Aſchar. The next expedition of this general was againſt Farver, completely ſurrounded by the ſea, in the neighbourhood of Laodicea. It belonged to the Franks, and he contrived to procure acceſs to it by a rude temporary bridge or path, formed of looſe ſtones. The fort was taken and deſtroyed. In the year 1288, the Sultan repaired to Gaza, where he was informed of the death of his ſon, Alaeddin Aly, the appointed heir of his throne: he therefore haſtily returned to Cairo, and Khalil was nominated ſucceſſor to the empire in the ſtead of his deceaſed brother. The enſuing year the Sultan was requeſted by Felima, one of the chiefs of the Franks, to beſiege Tripoly. Inſtead of employing his officers in the chief command, the Sultan advanced to the place in perſon. The ſiege was quickly commenced; his battering engines played upon the fortifications; a breach was opened, and the aſſailants entered, ſword in hand. To avoid the fury of the victorious enemy, many of the inhabitants ſought refuge in their ſhips;

2000 were killed, and the women and children were conſigned to captivity. A portion of the fugitives croſſed over to a ſmall iſland, whither they were purſued by the enraged enemy. The Muſſulmen ſwam over with their horſes, and not a man on the iſland eſcaped the ſword. The young Abu'lfeda was preſent at this ſiege; he himſelf went over to this ſcene of carnage, and deſcribes the place as covered with dead bodies.

After this event, Kalaoun fortified many caſtles in the adjacent country. Tripoly was deſtroyed by his order, but a town, under the ſame name, was built for the public accommodation, about a mile from the ſea. The Sultan, now ſatisfied with the humiliation of the Chriſtian foes, concluded a truce with them for the term of two years. The Egyptian ſovereign next turned his attention to the ſouthern limits of his African empire; ſome rebels, truſting to the ſecurity of their deſarts, had ventured to throw off their dependence on the Sultan. In the year 1290, two generals were ſent on ſeparate expeditions to degrade theſe haughty vaſſals. Tharantia was alſo here employed: he penetrated with his obedient troops into the inhoſpitable wilds of the Thebais—encountered the rebels on their own territory—diſappointed all their machinations, and returned from the expedition with much booty. Azzeddin Ibegh was alſo occupied, by order of the Sultan, in the ſame diſtricts, from whence he brought in his train, female ſlaves, horſes, and ele-

phants. At this period the ancient enmity was renewed between the Sultan and the unfortunate Franks; the former, therefore, paſſed over with his armies to Ptolemais, determined to extirpate the Chriſtians. His camp was formed in the neighbourhood of that port, but time was not allowed him to fulfil the purpoſes of his revenge. He fell ill in his tent, and recommended, in his laſt hours, that his ſon Khalil ſhould purſue the war with unremitting vigour. He reigned eleven years and three months. Among the new expences incurred during the reign of Bibars, was the extravagant increaſe of the body guard of the royal perſon. From a few individuals, of which the Halca at firſt conſiſted, the Mamluke guard increaſed in the time of Kalaoun to twelve thouſand, which ſurrounded the awful throne of the monarch, and defied the feeble reſiſtance of the malcontents of Egypt. Kalaoun ſhewed the uſual attachment to the religion of the ancient maſters of his clan, by the erection and endowment of numerous moſques, and he built an hoſpital at Cairo for ſick perſons, and every neceſſary accommodation was provided for its diſtreſſed inmates. In the reign of this Sultan flouriſhed the hiſtorian, Ben Khalekan, a deſcendant of the Barmecides. We mention the name of this writer with peculiar impreſſions of reverence and gratitude, becauſe Abu'lmahaſen, to whom we ſo frequently reſort for the materials of this part of our hiſtory, drew abundantly on the labours of that writer.

The revolutions in Egypt, which had been ſo frequent, made it a favourite plan both with Bibars and Kalaoun, not only to nominate the ſucceſſor, but to inſure his reception on the throne as much as poſſible, by demanding oaths of fealty to the heir of the Turban from all the dependent Emirs of the empire. Khalil, therefore, ſucceeded to the honours of his father without the ſmalleſt obſtruction from the powerful dependents either in Egypt or Syria. His firſt employment, after taking upon himſelf the government, was, to put the affairs of his African dominions in a ſtate of arrangement and ſecurity. His next attention was to comply implicitly with the laſt commands of his father. The troops of Hama were therefore immediately ordered to be collected, and to join the armies of Egypt, then before Ptolemais. The improved ſkill in the art of fortification had occaſioned a correſponding improvement in the means of attack, and fifteen terrible engines compoſed a part of the reſources of the aſſailants. The maſſes which were to be hurled from theſe, were of prodigious magnitude; and ſome notion may be formed of their enormous bulk, as we are told, that the miſſiles for one of theſe were borne on ſix chariots. Abu'lfeda was likewiſe preſent with the forces of Hama at this important ſiege, and to the diviſion to which he belonged, one of theſe formidable machines was attached. The entire army of the Sultan conſiſted of ſixty thouſand

horſe, and a hundred thouſand foot, which were ranged around the walls of Ptolemais. The cauſe of theſe alarming preparations was comparatively trifling. The inhabitants of that city, whether juſtly or not does not appear, had hanged nineteen merchants of the Mahometan faith, and had refuſed to give the deceaſed Sultan the ſatisfaction he haughtily demanded for this offence. It is a little ſingular, that Telima was alſo inſtrumental on this occaſion in ſoliciting the vengeance of the Sultan againſt his countrymen.

The Franks had exerted themſelves equally for their own defence, and were determined to hazard the dangers of the open field, and not patiently wait for the beſiegers within their intrenchments. Various machines were prepared to precede them in their ſallies, which, covered with ſtrong hides, interrupted the progreſs, or ſheltered them from the cloud of lighter miſſiles projected by the enemy. From theſe engines they threw numerous darts and ſharp inſtruments upon the foe, and advancing with determined courage, they drove the Egyptians back to their tents. On one occaſion, a deſperate engagement enſued in the midſt of the encampment, when the Franks, entangled among the temporary erections, were incapable of acting in a collected body, and in this ſituation, overpowered by numbers, they were repulſed with much ſlaughter.

In an advanced part of the fortifications roſe a

lofty tower, which had been long conſidered impregnable. On account of the deſtruction which had been ſo often ſpread in the ranks of the enemy from this edifice, it had acquired among the Mahometans the appellation of the *Curſed Tower*. Againſt this part of the city the Muſſulmans directed their engines and planted their ſcaling ladders; a breach was at laſt effected, the troops of the Sultan leaped into it, and entered the city. While the enemy was advancing on one ſide into the city, the garriſon and the inhabitants were hurrying to their ſhips on the other: the ſcene of confuſion was terrible; the King of Cyprus and the Patriarch gained their veſſels, but the latter, anxious to preſerve his unfortunate friends, crouded the ſhip ſo much that it was overſet.

In the midſt of the city was the citadel; it was called the Temple, and was guarded by four towers. The Templars and Teutonic Knights diſdained to join in the flight; they, therefore, impetuouſly ruſhed into the Temple, and bid defiance to the ſanguinary and clamorous enemy. Motives of policy or of humanity, after ſome time, induced them to liſten to terms of accommodation. Some inſults were, however, offered by the Mahometan ſoldiery to their women and children; the enemy were driven out of the fortreſs, the port-cullice was inſtantly cloſed, and the Sultan's ſtandard was thrown over the walls. The females who had occaſioned this new rupture, now interceded with the Sultan for their fathers, their

huſbands, and their brothers in arms; but the Knights themſelves rejected the mediation, and were determined on revenge: the language of defiance was vociferated on every ſide of the citadel, and the ſtandard was followed by the Muſſulman priſoners, who were hurled over and daſhed to pieces beneath the battlements. Whatever might be the courage of the Chriſtians, they were ſure to fall from either famine or violence. The Mahometans, irritated to madneſs by the ſight of the mangled carcaſes of their friends, could not wait the ſlow approach of the former; their engines played upon the devoted citadel, one of the towers fell, the enemy precipitately entered and bathed their ſwords in blood. The crouded carcaſes of the Chriſtians exhibited a ſpectacle too frightful to deſcribe; every Knight was butchered, and the women and children were ſent into remote ſlavery.

Thus fell Ptolemais, or as it is called in modern times, ST. JOHN D'ACRE, on the 13th of July, 1291, and thus fell the laſt refuge of the Franks in Syria, never more to be re-eſtabliſhed as a rallying point to the Cruſades from every part of Europe. From a ſingular coincidence, this famed city was reconquered by the Mahometans on the ſame day of the week and the ſame hour, in which it had been taken by the Chriſtians exactly one hundred years before. And to mark the ſpirit of retaliation and of intolerance which diſtinguiſhed both parties, the Chriſtians were

treated with the ſame ſanguinary ſpirit they had themſelves exerted againſt the Muſſulmen a century before.

[To mark with a retroſpective eye the leading events of this extraordinary warfare which exiſted betwixt the Chriſtians of the weſtern world and the occupiers of the Holy Land, for 200 years preceding, we ſhall only diſcharge a part of our duty as an hiſtorian; for we will ſeldom have again occaſion to recur to thoſe important tranſactions with which the world was at that time agitated.

In 1095, Peter of Amiens, who had exchanged the fatigue of arms for the ſecluſion of an hermitage, went on a pilgrimage in that year to the Holy land. He had during his reſidence in Jeruſalem, indignantly marked the degraded ſituation of the ſepulchre of Jeſus, and the inſults to which the Chriſtian pilgrims were expoſed. After his return, he poured forth the ſorrows of his heart to the patriarch Simeon, and to the fathers of the church, without avail. Diſappointed in his hopes from the frigid indifference with which his complaints were heard, he exclaimed with religious fervour, "But I will rouſe the warlike hoſts of Europe, and SHALL deliver the tomb of Jeſus from the pollution of heretics."

Peter was a man of aſtoniſhing ſtrength of mind, and the fervour of his zeal inſpired the religious of that age with correſpondent emotions. From faſting and anxiety, he became meagre and thin; he was

ſhort in ſtature, and of a ſallow contenance. He was clothed with a garment of the coarſeſt materials, and no covering protected his head, nor even a ſandal or ſhoe ſhielded his feet from the moſt rugged road. His figure was as ſingularly ſtriking as his eloquence was irreſiſtable. No appeal for the diſtreſſes of humanity was heard in vain, and the generoſity of the rich was with equal liberality applied to the relief of the unfortunate. From kingdom to kingdom and from province to province, he inceſſantly travelled, and wherever he went, the doors of the palace and of the cottage flew open at his approach; and ſuch were the rapturous emotions he created in the minds of the public by his holy zeal, that millions of people, as if inſpired by ſupernatural agency, were ready to ſacrifice their lives for the recovery of Paleſtine.]

After this event, the Sultan thought fit to make a variety of changes in the adminiſtration of his empire, by which the popularity he had acquired was diminiſhed, and the glory of his victory over the Franks was tarniſhed, in the eyes of his people.—His powerful dependents were thus offended, and the ſecret diſcontent he occaſioned, reflected a darker ſhade over the ſubſequent period of his reign. The next year, 1292, he was guilty of yet further indiſcretion in this particular; and both Sanchar el Aſchar, and Rokneddin Toſcou, were ordered to be ſtrangled. Theſe Emirs, diſguſted with the conduct of the Sultan, had dared to rebel againſt his authority

fortunately for the former, the bow-ſtring broke during the attempt; a moment of conſideration was afforded, and his life was preſerved.

On the winding ſhore of the Euphrates ſtood the fortreſs of Roum, which ſheltered and overlooked a wide extent of the rich plains within the dominions of the King of Armenia. This prince had given offence to the Sultan, and the armies of Egypt and Syria were directed to march into the vallies on the borders of Meſopotamia, for the attack of this fortreſs.—Abu'lfeda, whose progreſs we watch with affectionate ſolicitude, was among the princes of his family in the train of the troops of Hama. He and his companions in arms were ſtationed on an adjacent hill, from which he could ſurvey the daily advance of the ſiege. Before the Sultan could proceed to attack the fortreſs, it was neceſſary to inveſt the town: the conteſt was long and obſtinate, but at laſt the forces of the Sultan prevailed, and the general of the Armenians giving up the town, retired with his garriſon into the caſtle. On this occaſion, all the parade of attack was employed; the gallant officer of the northern prince was convinced reſiſtance would be ineffectual, and when an enormous engine played on the battlements, he opened a negociation, but not before great damage had been ſuſtained. The Armenians were made priſoners of war, and the place was repaired under the orders of Khalil. The king of Armenia found it neceſſary,

after the ſurrender of this fortreſs, and with the enemies' troops in the heart of his dominions, to ſue for peace, but advantageous terms under ſuch circumſtances could not be expected. Bahſna, Maraſch, and Tell Hamdoun, were ceded to the conqueror; the accommodation in conſequence was concluded, and the Sultan returned in triumph to Damaſcus. He now ſent not only the ſick of his army, but all his forces, back to Egypt, and remained in the Syrian capital. The Emir Badaira conducted the rear, which was compoſed of the flower of the army. Whether it was from motives of policy or wantonneſs, it is not at this time eaſy to determine; but he ordered the deſtruction of many caſtles, forts, and public edifices, contrary to the ſyſtem of his predeceſſors. In this general wreck, the caſtle of Schoubek was included, and even the caſtle of the Mountain, and the palace of Damaſcus, were deprived of many of their dependent edifices.

Notwithſtanding the imprudent ſeparation of the army from the royal perſon under the diſcontents which began to be widely diffuſed, he arrived in ſecurity at his Egyptian capital. He now attempted to conciliate the favour of his army by rewards, games, and public feſtivity. A trial of military ſkill was publiſhed, and all the grandees of the court were invited to this auguſt ceremony. A lofty maſt was planted in the centre of an extenſive amphitheatre, on the ſummit of which was placed the

golden prize, and above it fluttered a harmleſs dove. All the officers of the Halca were not only concerned in the exhibition, but candidates for the prize; and a ſcene of Mamluke ſplendour was diſplayed, which was alone ſuited to the court of theſe triumphant princes. The reward of dexterity was apportioned according to the rank of the ſucceſsful competitor, and each captain or general had a piece of gold aſſigned him for every ſoldier under his immediate command. The numerous candidates were admitted within the ring of the amphitheatre, and who, obſerving with a ſteady eye, the elevation and poſition of the trimmed bird, ſucceſſively clapped ſpurs to their horſes, and while at full ſpeed, threw the javelin at its breaſt. After theſe public rejoicings and ceremonies, Khalil made an excurſion on the north ſide of Cairo, attended by the Atabek Schamſeddin, by Baidara, and a numerous body of Emirs belonging to his court. The duties of the former occaſioned his leaving the royal party at Therane, and continuing onward to Alexandria. Afterwards Khalil proceeded to the diſtrict of Taroudge, where he ordered Baidara to return with the royal ſtandard and the body guard to Cairo. Khalil now amuſed himſelf in hunting, and in the heat of the chaſe he found himſelf with a ſingle attendant, when Baidara ſuddenly appeared with a number of armed perſons in his train. The Emirs had not forgotten the inſults they had received, and their perſons were ex-

posed to continual danger from the verſatility of the young monarch. Baidara had not obeyed the commands of the Sultan; inſtead of proceeding to the capital with the royal guard, he continued in the neighbourhood where the prince was purſuing his diverſions to avail himſelf of the firſt opportunity to aſſaſſinate his maſter: he now impetuouſly ruſhed upon him, and with his ſabre ſtruck off the Sultan's arm; Ladgin gave him another blow, when the work was finiſhed by the Emir Bahadour. The troops were now collected, and fealty was ſworn to Baidara, who haſtened towards Cairo with the imperial ſtandard. He inſtantly aſſumed the title of Malel el Aouhad, or the only King; but, according to Abu'l-feda, Caher, or the Victorious: but whatever might be his aſſumed name, he was not long the only King, or victorious. The news of the aſſaſſination had reached Cairo, and five hundred chevaliers ſet out to diſpute his authority, who meeting with him near Therane, a battle enſued, in which his opponents under Ketbocha obtained the victory. The ambitious Baidara, inſtead of a Sultan, became a priſoner; his head was cut off and carried through the ſtreets of the capital, into which he had meditated a triumphal entry. A boy of nine years old,

NASER MOHAMMED,

the ſon of Kalaoun, was now proclaimed ſucceſſor to the throne. Ketbogha was appointed regent of the kingdom; Schadgiai, grand vizir; and Ouſtadder,

grand maſter of the houſehold. The command of the body guard was aſſigned to Houſameddin. After the places of dignity were thus ſupplied, the next meaſure was the purſuit of the aſſaſſins, and of the diſaffected who had joined the ſtandard of Baidara. Many of theſe unfortunate people were taken, their hands and feet were ſtruck off, and after they had been exhibited ſome time as a public ſpectacle, they were all decapitated. The new miniſters did not long confide in each other, and the enſuing year, 1294, a difference aroſe between the regent and the grand vizir. Schadgiai could not endure the ſituation of dependence in which he was placed under Ketbogha, and wiſhed to deſtroy both the Sultan and his governor, who ſtood between him and ſupreme power. Schadgiai had immenſe wealth at his diſpoſal, and ſo firmly relied on the mercenary diſpoſition of the Halca and the courtiers, that he made no ſecret of his intentions. Eighty thouſand pieces of gold were delivered to the Mamlukes, and a reward was ſet on the head of Ketbogha. An unworthy officer was ſeduced by this bribe, and the former nearly fell a ſacrifice to his temerity. He boldly advanced up to the regent, and inſolently aſked him if Ladgin was under his protection. While Ketbogha was replying in defiance that the aſſaſſin was probably with Schadgiai, the officer lifted up his ſabre to give the regent a fatal blow, when a Mamluke in the ſuite of Ketbogha ſaw the traitorous deſign, and

wounded the officer on the back before he could perpetrate the deed. Schadgiai, favoured by the Sultan's family, ſtill continued to employ his bribes, and when the Halca was aſſembled, having previouſly publiſhed the ſignal, he ordered the drums to be beaten, expecting that the body guard would join his party; he was, however, only ſupported by a few mercenary individuals. Ketbogha, conſtantly expoſed to danger, and ſeeing every proſpect of accommodation impoſſible, at laſt determined on open reſiſtance to this ambitious miniſter, who had had the artifice to conceal his real deſigns at the palace. The regent, therefore, inveſted the caſtle of the Mountain, where Schadgiai bid defiance to his enemies: his force being yet too weak to proceed to the aſſault, Ketbogha cut off the channel which ſupplied the caſtle with water, and attempted to reduce it by the ſlow operation of famine. Schadgiai ſaw the neceſſity of ſome bold ſtep which ſhould eſtabliſh his reputation: he made a deſperate ſally from the walls, and Ketbogha underwent the diſgrace of a precipitate retreat. Schadgiai, however, had loſt all his popularity; the regent was reinforced by the friendly aſſiſtance of the Emirs of the capital, and returned again to the ſiege. The Sultan's mother was within the precincts of the caſtle; the intrigues of the Vizir had deceived her, and ſhe doubted whether the intentions of Ketbogha were to dethrone her ſon or to diſplace the grand vizir. In this uncertainty, ſhe determined

to ſatisfy her mind by a perſonal interview with the aſſailants: ſhe, therefore, advanced to the walls, and demanded what was the object of their hoſtility? The beſieging troops inſtantly replied, the humiliation of Schadgiai, and that they were all the obedient ſlaves of the Sultan. After this interview, Schadgiai was forced out of the caſtle, but managed to obtain acceſs to his own palace, whither he was purſued by the enraged Emirs: they ruſhed impetuouſly into his apartment, and having ſeized him, cut off his head, which being raiſed on a lance, was expoſed through the ſtreets of Cairo.

The regent had now no enemy to interfere with his authority: the young Sultan entered in triumph the portal of his capital, attended by all the officers of his eſtabliſhment. One of the firſt inſtances of the exerciſe of the power of the regent was indecent and dangerous. Ladgin, one of the murderers of the Sultan, was received into favour. The Mamlukes, who were attached to the perſon of the prince, on this occaſion revolted. Ketbogha attempted to intimidate them by barbarity, and the hands, the feet, and the tongues of the more violent, were amputated: three hundred and ſixty of them he diſbanded, and diſtributed them among the Emirs of the court. The true cauſe of the introduction of Ladgin was ſoon apparent: this Emir had recommended that the young Sultan ſhould be depoſed, and had promiſed to ſupport Ketbogha in his pretenſions to the

throne before; therefore, the royal boy had continued a year as the phantom of the ſtate; he was ſhut up in the caſtle, and the regent was proclaimed Sultan, under the title of the *Juſt, and the Ornament of Religion.* Ketbogha, now advanced to the higheſt dignity, was originally a Mogul ſlave. He being made priſoner at the battle of Emeſſa, Kalaoun placed him among the domeſtics of his family, inſtead of ſending him into captivity; he then became a member of the Halca, and in time was advanced to ſome of the moſt important ſtations. On this change of affairs, Ladgin was appointed governor of Egypt, and Seifedden Bahadour, grand maſter of the houſehold. The acceſſion of Ketbogha was formally announced in Syria; the inhabitants of Damaſcus were indifferent to what proprietor they belonged, and glad of any opportunity of idleneſs and diſſipation: the event was celebrated with a loud interval of feſtivity. The cuſtomary ceremonies of inauguration were reſorted to in the Egyptian capital, to impreſs the minds of the people with the change that had taken place; which, under the verſality to which they had been ſubjected, would otherwiſe ſcarcely have attracted notice. A few days after the imperial ſtandard had been elevated before the new Sultan, all the Emirs of his brilliant court aſſembled in the principal ſquare of Cairo, clad in their robes of honour, with their horſes richly capariſoned, and their numerous guards and domeſtics gaily attired.

In the midſt of this auguſt aſſembly the Sultan appeared, when all the grandees immediately kiſſed the ground as the ſlaves of his government, and the loyal ſubjects of his power. Theſe forms were only preparatory to the grand day of public ceremony and rejoicing, the paraphernalia and exhibition on this latter occaſion requiring much preparation. About a month after the acceſſion, the temples of the prince were inveſted with the imperial turban; the ſandals of ſalutation were girt on his feet, the robe of ſtate was thrown around him, and thus attired, he mounted on his ſuperb charger, ſurrounded by all the officers of the Halca, glittering with ſolid gold. While the ſtandard of honour waved before him, he alighted at the veſtibule of the caſtle of the mountain; from hence he proceeded to the dome of Victory, entered the gate of the ſame name, paraded through the ſtreets of Cairo, and paſſed the portal of Zavila in his return to the royal palace, where the formalities were concluded. The ſplendour of theſe exhibitions was ſoon exchanged for general lamentation. In 1295 a famine afflicted Egypt, which afterwards appeared in Syria. The neceſſary article of life was advanced to nearly ſix times its ordinary price. In Cairo alone, in a ſhort time, the names of 17,500 perſons were given in at the Divan, who had fallen a ſacrifice to this dreadful ſcarcity; and in this catalogue, foreigners and paupers were not included.—The prieſts of Mecca and Medina were determined

to extract ſome benefit from this event. They recommended pilgrimages to their deſerts, that, by devotions before the tomb of the Prophet and at the cave of the Alcoran, the people might appeaſe the vengeance of heaven. The palm groves of Medina filled with viſitants, and the temple of Mecca was ſurrounded with pilgrims: the lamps of the ſacred ſepulchre ſpread a grateful radiance over the ſupplicants and the golden letters of the Beat Allah were ſurveyed with pious wonder. Not only the Emirs of Cairo of the higheſt diſtinction viſited the ſable rocks of the deſerts, but even the females of the ſeraglio haſtened from the boſom of the Sultan to pay their offerings and expoſe their perſons amid the inhoſpitable ſands of the Arabian ſolitudes.

In the year 1296, information was ſuddenly brought to the court that ten thouſand tents of the Moguls appeared in the vicinity of Rohba. The alarm was only momentary; they were not come to conquer, but to ſubmit. We have before ſeen that one of the Khans of this Tartarian people had embraced the Muſſelman faith: ſerious diviſions, it ſeems, had been the conſequence of the public profeſſion that perſuaſion received, and theſe tents contained a hoſt of religious zealots inſtead of an army of ſanguinary warriors. The Sultan, we have before ſaid, was himſelf of the Mogul nation; political, as well as religious motives, induced him to ſhew peculiar favour to theſe emigrants: the power of the Sul-

tans of the Nile had alone been found capable of impeding the progreſs of the Tartarian arms, and the effeminate habits of the Syrian and Egyptian ſoldiers were likely ſoon to yield to the hardy manners of the laſt. From these views, it was of great importance for the ſecurity of the Sultan, to favour the diviſions in the interior of the Mogul empire, and to endeavour to ſuppreſs the Tartars with their own arms. But motives of leſs general operation conduced to influence Kethogha to receive the diſaffected Moguls with hoſpitality.

Kethogha had not been long upon the throne, when Ladgin himſelf aſpired to it; and he finally diſplaced the man on whoſe brow he had aſſiſted to place the royal turban. The Emirs, however, tired with continual alarms and diſquietudes, and harraſſed by the oppreſſions of each uſurper, who choſe to overthrow his fellow, procured aſſaſſins, who rid them of Ladgin, and immediately recalled the young Naſer Mohammed, who, after an exile of three years, reſumed the reins of government.

As ſoon as the mad enthuſiaſm for the cruſades had in ſome degree ſubſided among the weſtern princes, plans were deviſed for the expulſion of the Turks and Saracens from the Holy Land by other means. A deputation was ſent from Rome to Argan, the Khan of the Mogul Tartars, but unfortunately that chief was dead before the ambaſſadors arrived. In the year 1300, however, Gazan, the ſon,

and ſucceſſor of the late Khan, entered into a league for the ſame purpoſe with the weſtern champions. The aid of the Moguls was alſo ſolicited and obtained by the Governor of Aleppo. Their arms were ſucceſsful in Syria, and Damaſcus, its capital, fell into their power. Jeruſalem might alſo have yielded to their triumphant numbers, had not rebellion at home compelled Gazan to repaſs the Euphrates, and ſuffered Syria and Paleſtine again to return into the hands of the Sultan of Egypt. Having quelled the domeſtic tumults which had occaſioned his return, Gazan reſumed his project of adding Syria to his other dominions, and wiſhing to have ſome power in action between himſelf and the formidable armies of Egypt, he applied to Pope Boniface VIII. for a cruſade. Philip the fair, of France, was unfortunately at enmity with his Holineſs, and oppoſed every meaſure the Pope wiſhed to put in practice. Almoſt all Europe again heard the perſuaſive eloquence of the church, ſeeking ſuccour and reſcue for the holy ſepulchre; but whether it was that Philip's arguments were ſtronger, or that people were grown wiſer, no aſſiſtance could be procured for the Chriſtian cauſe in the eaſt, though the Egyptian arms, in Syria, had already begun to be triumphant. Gazan died before he had effected any thing of moment, and Chodabenda, his ſucceſſor, made peace with Naſer. Inſtead of a benefit, that event appears at this time to have been the very worſt of evils, for it added fuel to the

diſſentions amongſt the Emirs, which were ready to burſt into a flame. They were aiming at the higheſt offices in the ſtate; but Naſer determined to ſtrike a blow which would at once prevent their preſent encroachments, and put all fears of their future inſolence at an end. His plan was ripe for execution, when Bactimur, an officer of rank in the life guards, betrayed the ſecret of his maſter. Selar and Bibars, two of the moſt ambitious Emirs, endeavoured to make the blow recoil upon the Sultan's own head. But the treaſonable conduct of the Emirs themſelves finding its way to the ears of the people, they aſſembled at once in the ſtreets of Cairo, and demanded juſtice for their Prince. The Emirs, ſurpriſed almoſt in the very attempt, again ſubmitted, with apparently ſincere repentance, to the Sultan's will; but he, rightly conceiving that the flames of diſſention were not yet extinguiſhed, under a pretence that he was going a pilgrimage to Mecca, retired to Carak, and wrote to Cairo that he reſigned his throne, and nominated Selar his ſucceſſor. Selar, however, perceiving that Bibars was a favourite with the Circaſſian ſlaves, who were then riſing into power, prudently reſigned the ſceptre in his favour.

Before we proceed further, it will be neceſſary to obſerve the revolutions which were brought about by the ſlaves purchaſed from other countries, with an intention of preſerving the empire, but finally producing the very effect againſt which they were pro-

cured to guard. It will be remembered that in the reign of Mousa, (p. 265) the Mamlukes, who had been obtained by Saladin to guard the empire in consequence of the native Egyptians becoming by a long course of luxury unfit for war, and unable to prevent or to repel invasion,* possessed themselves gradually of the highest offices of the state, and at length of the very throne itself. It will likewise be recollected that Kelaoun who began to reign in 1279, first set the example of bringing up to arms, children purchased from the Circassian christians. His reasons for thus introducing foreigners into his armies were, first, that his usurpation, joined with those of the former monarchs of the Mamluke race, were too constantly before the eyes of the native soldiery to allow them to remain long without expressing their sentiments perhaps a little too forcibly for his comfort, and as the Baharites had originally formed but a small part of Saladin's army, he and his adherents, unless speedily reinforced, might have fallen under the arm of justice and superior power.

But as we are not entering here upon a train of reasons for facts which are evident to every one, we shall content ourselves with one observation on these revolutions. In the ancient history of France it will be seen that the lords of the palace found their way

* Some writers alledge this to have been Saladin's reason for bringing these Tartars among the Egyptians; and others again say, that he placed them as a guard over the throne, to secure it against the friends of the Fatimite Caliphs, whom he overthrew.

to the throne through the weakneſs of their monarchs, to which indeed they owed their very exiſtence as lords, ſo true is it that the very object to which we had truſted our protection frequeutly occaſions the evil againſt which we had deſigned it to provide. Had Kelaun tried every means in his power of making himſelf popular to his ſubjects, and endeavoured to make his reign more manly though more mild than even that of the monarch whoſe title and power he uſurped, (if indeed he could be called a monarch who had not yet reached his ſeventh year) and after gaining every approbation that the virtuous monarch can acquire, made a trial of their gratitude by allowing his unlawful poſſeſſion and offering to renounce his claim to the throne in favour of the rightful prince, there is no doubt but the people, who had never ſeen their former monarch but as a child and unfit for government, would have continued him in that ſeat he ſo juſtly would have merited. It is true, he was generous and prudent, if we credit his hiſtorians, but it is a lamentable inſtance of his want of foreſight, that he permitted ſlaves to be educated for the army, and for the more ſecure poſſeſſion of his dominions for the preſent, ſacrificed them againſt a future day to a new and powerful ſet of maſters.

BIBARS,

as we before mentioned, aſcended the throne, on the refuſal of Selar. He aſſumed the title of

Modhaffer al Rocknoddin, and though he accepted the turban from the hand of Selar, the latter was the real monarch, by whose power and councils the empire was regulated. The people as uncertain as the wind, and sometimes as fatal to their rulers as the arid blast of the Arabian desert, became discontent; the contagion spread, and the sounds of uproar and rebellion were echoed from the centre of Egypt to the remotest limits of Syria.

NASER MOHAMMED

was once more called on to occupy the throne of Cairo; Bibars betook himself to flight, but was overtaken, and strangulation ended the life of the favourite of slaves, and the dupe and servant of his subject. Naser returned to his capital in 1310, and all the splendour of the court welcomed the monarch, who had ever been a favourite with the people, to a throne whence he had received lessons of experience from which he resolved to profit. He decimated all the Emirs whom he suspected, or had had reason to suspect on former occasions, and he now expected, after all the trouble through which he had passed, to enjoy the remainder of his life in undisturbed tranquillity. But there was still an object of dread in his dominions; Selar was still alive; Selar, who had before refused the throne, and yet contrived to have performed every scheme that he devised, every villainy that he prompted; besides, he was known to possess immense riches, which are always danger-

ous, but in a country where mercenaries are eaſily to be procured, moſt of all to be dreaded. Naſer ſent for him to court, and threw him into priſon. There he confeſſed, perhaps with a deſire to releaſe himſelf from bonds which his meddling diſpoſition, his thirſt of power, and his known means of acquiring it had thrown upon him, that he had concealed prodigious, and till then unknown wealth, in ſubterranean receſſes. Half of the wealth of Bibars was confiſcated to the ſtate, and the other half was given to his daughter; but ſo enraged was every one at the hidden riches of Selar, conſidering that they were the accumulation of avarice and oppreſſion, and that they had been wrung from the hard hands of the diſtreſſed by many an indirect and heart-rending act of tyranny, that they devoted the whole of his money and jewels to the public benefit. He himſelf was ſtarved to death in priſon, after being tantalized with covered diſhes containing ſome of thoſe very riches which he had ſo diſgracefully hoarded. Naſer, however, had other foes to contend with; the knights of Cyprus, ſome tribes of Arabs, and the Egyptian chriſtians, were the principal of his enemies, but by the wiſdom and experience he had gained, they were all repulſed or ſubdued. Taxes had been impoſed upon the people, in the troubleſome ſtate in which Egypt had ſome time continued, without much attention to the effects which they had upon the different claſſes, and they had

been exacted without pity for the helpleſs ſtate in which they often left thoſe who contributed to them. Many of theſe were aboliſhed. The large ſupplies by which the Emirs were ſupported were conſiderably diminiſhed, and a ſtrict economy was adhered to, eſpecially with regard to thoſe who, under the diſguiſe of friendſhip, frequently concealed the tongue of malice or the dagger of enmity. The Empire at once changed its appearance; from the ſtoppages in the Nile, and the want of cultivation, the Delta had become little better than a dry and unpromiſing wilderneſs; but Naſer remedied this by cutting canals, both from the Nile to various parts of the Delta, through the populous cities of Aleppo and Alexandria, and from Cairo to Siriactis, in the delightful neighbourhood of which place he often ſought retirement and reſt from the labours of empire. This monarch died, after reigning happily for upwards of thirty years. His death was followed by innumerable inſtances of rebellion, uproar, and general diſſatisfaction; and in 43 years, 12 of the ſons and deſcendants of Naſer Mohammed had aſſumed and laid aſide the turban.

In 1348 the plague began to rage in Grand Cairo, and the countries over which its dreadful ravages were ſpread, were threatened with total extinction; but when this calamity had a little ſubſided, ſo ſtrong in the human breaſt is injuſtice and lawleſs ambition, when once they have fairly rooted themſelves there,

that the Emirs ſtill contended amongſt themſelves who was to ſhow himſelf the moſt atrocious tyrant.

The Knights of St John, driven as they had been from their ancient ſettlement, bethought themſelves of ſeizing the iſland of Rhodes, and re-eſtabliſhing the power they had loſt. With a numerous ſupply of ſhips and men, they, with almoſt inſuperable oppoſition, gained a firm ſettlement on the iſland, and thenceforward took the name of Knights of Rhodes. But here they found themſelves in a moſt diſagreeable, and in no very ſecure ſituation, for Egypt was uſing every endeavour to poſſeſs herſelf of Rhodes and Cyprus, at the very moment that the Ottomans were plotting how they ſhould get poſſeſſion firſt of theſe two iſlands, and then of Egypt. In 1365, Luſignan, the King of Cyprus, and Raymond Berenger, grand maſter of the Knights of Rhodes, thought it more politic to weaken one of their enemies, than that they themſelves ſhould be attacked by both in their full vigor; and therefore ſet ſail for Egypt, and laid ſiege immediately to Alexandria.—The inhabitants, however, made a vigorous defence, pouring ſcalding oil and flaming liquids upon thoſe who attempted to enter it by ſcaling; but all was unavailing; the city was taken, and the Knights wreaked their revenge on the inhabitants. Shaban the Sultan, Naſer Mohammed's grandſon, having heard that ſo great a progreſs was making into his dominions, marched with a conſiderable force towards Alexan-

dria. Hearing of this march, Luſignan and Raymond Berenger left their conqueſt, and retired again to their own iſlands.

In ſuch a ſtate was Egypt ſoon after this period, that it was thought more expedient to make peace with Cyprus and Rhodes than to continue the conteſt; the country indeed was in continual alarms from the factions of the Mamlukes and Circaſſians. We have ſtated the reaſons there were for bringing up the latter, and the time was arrived when they ſhould aſſume the firſt offices of the ſtate.

BARCOK

depoſed Hagi, another grandſon of Naſer Mohammed, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the throne. The Mamlukes had reigned 128 years, and a new and powerful race now took upon them the rule of the empire. The Borgites, bodies of Circaſſians, ſo called from having been, when under the ſway of the Baharites, diſtributed through the country to keep under the rebellious people in fortreſſes, or in their language, borges, placed Barcok in the ſeat of ſovereignty *—As ſoon as he had ſeated himſelf on the throne, he found how precarioufly the ſupreme governor of Egypt was conſtantly ſituated; he diſcovered that he was ſurrounded by men, who, with the faces of loyal and ſubmiſſive ſubjects and ſlaves, were uſing every latent artifice to undermine and deſtroy his newly ac-

* Theſe people aſſumed the name of Mamlukes in common with thoſe they ſucceeded.

quired power. The ſtate of many of the Emirs at this period ſtrongly reminds us of the unremitted diſturbances which burſt forth from the ambitious lords and their vaſſals under the feudal ſyſtem. Attended by numerous ſlaves, who miniſtered to their lawleſs pleaſures, or who betrayed their truſt, as they were well treated or ſlighted, Mantaſh and Ilboga, the richeſt of them, frequently oppoſed, and at length dethroning their monarch, recalled

HAGI,

in the year 1389, whoſe power he had uſurped. Ilboga was appointed regent and commander in chief, but Mantaſh had been ſlighted by him, and gaining upon the affections of the populace, he at length raiſed a force, conquered Ilboga, and impriſoned him in Alexandria. Mantaſh, now in power as regent, forgot the promiſes he had made to the people, and gave orders for the murder of Barcok, in his confinement. Barcok, however, eſcaped to Carak, where he ſoon aſſembled a conſiderable body in his favour. Hagi and his forces met the newly raiſed body; a deciſive battle enſued, and

BARCOK

again ſeated himſelf upon the throne. He began his new reign (1390) with much greater policy than he had before obſerved; he was again, however, ſuddenly engaged in war with Mantaſh, who made himſelf maſter of Damaſcus, but fled when he found he was likely to be worſted. Mantaſh, when he

found that his antagoniſt had departed from the ſeat of war, again came forward, but was ſeized and impriſoned by the governor of Aleppo. He attempted ſuicide, but was prevented, and expired on a public ſcaffold, a ſad example of the effects of uncurbed ambition unſupported by intrepidity.

Tamerlane, or Timour the Mogul Tartar, who in bravery and magnanimity excelled even Alexander himſelf, though he has been blackened by the petty, revengeful writings of his enemies, amongſt thoſe nations whom he conquered, now burſt forth in all the ſplendour of irreſiſtable valour. He had conquered Perſia, greateſt part of Turkeſtan, and Kipzac, and in defiance of their *impenetrable* armour, their elephants, their rivers, and their deſerts, he invaded the Hindoos. He croſſed their mighty mountains, and was lowered, in one inſtance, down a precipice, upon a portable ſcaffold, the ropes of which were 150 cubits in length, and before he could reach the bottom the operation was five times to be repeated. He traverſed the Ganges, and penetrated to Coupele, which in 1774 was a Britiſh camp. He then turned his eyes on Egypt and Syria, but having ſacked the cities of Aleppo and Damaſcus, he ſuddenly departed into Anatolia and Armenia, and turned his ſteps towards the very centre of the Ottoman empire, where he intended to attack Bajazet.*

* No apology is neceſſary for introducing this hero into that part of the hiſtory of Egypt with which he is cotemporary; as his

Egypt was almoſt at peace with every power, when Barcok died, and left a good name, and what are ſtill more approved, good works, behind him; one of the chief of which was, his endowing an extenſive college at Grand Cairo. But learning had ſeen its meridian amongſt the Egyptians, and the endowment of a ſingle college could do little towards its reſuſcitation.

NASER PHARAGE, OR FARADGE,

aſcended the throne of his father, under the title of Naſer Zenoddin Abulſaadat. Ifmiſh, an Emir, had been appointed regent, but the empire was ſoon after in ſuch a ſtate of rebellion, and he had been obſerved to be on ſuch terms with the rebels, that it was thought expedient to ſtrip him of the regency, which was no ſooner done, than he fled to Tanam, a Syrian, and one of the principal actors in the diſturbance. Naſer himſelf raiſed a conſiderable army, and headed it againſt the rebel forces; they met and fought at Gaza; Tanam was conquered, and he, as well as many of the other leaders of the rebellious army, were puniſhed with death.

Ahmed, the ſultan of Bagdad, had been twice driven from his kingdom; once he had claimed and received protection from Barcok, and now he ap-

enterprifing plans carried him in anticipation over Egypt and Syria, his career muſt have been a matter of painful intereſt to the former country,—we ſhould conceive almoſt as great as the progreſs of Buonaparte was to the people of Great Britain.

plied with 7000 men to the governor of Aleppo, for permiſſion to paſs through that city farther into Syria. The governor, however, conceiving no doubt that Ahmed had ſome ſiniſter project in view, reſolved to try whether, if denied permiſſion, he would attempt to enter the city by force. This he did, and a deſperate battle enſued, in which the cunning ſultan found himſelf foiled, and the faithful governor preſerved the city. Ahmed wrote to Grand Cairo, profeſſing his attachment to the intereſts of Pharage, and confeſſing the protection of the former ſultan, for which he was very grateful, and expreſſed a wiſh that a ſimilar *protecting* arm ſhould be ſtretched out to him by his ſucceſſor. This was denied him, and he and his generals were ordered to be conveyed to Cairo as priſoners.

When Bajazet was every moment expecting to be ſurrounded by the locuſt ſwarms of Mogul Tartars, he intreated aſſiſtance of Naſer Pharage; but conſidering that, notwithſtanding the deſpot of the Turks had formerly profeſſed himſelf his country's ally, he had treſpaſſed upon Syria; and aware that, if Tamerlane ſhould attempt to enter Egypt, he ſhould himſelf have the greateſt need of aſſiſtance, Pharage wiſely refuſed him the ſupplicated aid.—Tamerlane and Bajazet met on the plains near Angora, the capital of Galatia, for the latter, ſince the death of his ſon, whom the former had beheaded, was eager for revenge;—and the very plains in

which Pompey conquered Mithridates have immortalized the ſame of Tamerlane in the annals of military warfare. He had ſo improved his tactics, that the enemy was preſſed by twenty attacks in ſucceſſion, and if they all failed, then was the time for the hero himſelf to ſhow his intrepidity, and to advance with the till then reſerved main body of his valiant army. He took Bajazet priſoner in that memorable battle; and intended to ravage almoſt the whole known world, concluding his glorious career by adding Egypt and Syria to the immenſe extent of his already ſcarcely governable dominions. But as we are not writing a hiſtory of Tamerlane, ſuffice it to ſay, that he attempted to conquer the Knights of the Rhodes, but went no farther than to burn and pillage Smyrna, in which ſome of them were ſettled, after which he was called off to defend his acquired dominion of Perſia, but met with a different reception than he expected, and came to terms of agreement with his enemy. He then retired to Sarmacand, and ſpent the remainder of his life in tranquillity.

The diſturbances which this extraordinary genius in the military world had created, did not ſuppreſs ebulitions of diſſatisfaction from the Emirs of Egypt. So great, indeed, were their diſturbances, that Pharage reſigned the throne in favour of his brother, who remained on it but a ſhort while, till Naſer again aſſumed the turban. That prince's good genius had

prognoſticated to him what afterwards happened, for in the year 1412 he was murdered at Damaſcus, and

MOSTAIN

was declared to be his ſucceſſor. A Sheik of the name of

MOHAMMED,

however, ſubdued him, and had himſelf declared Sultan of Egypt. He, though he reigned in a time of rebellion and prejudice, and notwithſtanding he was himſelf a uſurper, was ſincerely regretted when he died, after reigning but 8 years. He was the patron of learning, and the protector of the orphan and the needy, and during a famine, which in the courſe of his reign ſpread its ravages far and wide throughout his kingdom, he was univerſally beloved for the meaſures which he adopted to alleviate the ſufferings of his people. In 1421, the ſon of the late Sultan was declared his ſucceſſor, but

DAHER,

the regent, uſurped the throne, and impriſoned the two princes, ſons of Mohammed.

MOHAMMED,

ſon of Daher, ſucceeded him, from whom the Emir

BARSEBAI

ſnatched the ſceptre. This monarch appears to have had ſome penetration in curbing the ſpirits of the Emirs, for, almoſt immediately upon his aſcending the throne, he declared war againſt the Chriſtians of

the Mediterranean isles. The oft used pretence of the passive party having broken a treaty for which they should be punished, was employed; and the Egyptian force attempted to take the island of Cyprus, but their attempt was fruitless, and they returned, compelled to content themselves with a rich booty for the present. Barsebai fitted out another expedition against Cyprus, and so far subdued its inhabitants, as to carry off their king in chains, and mounted upon a mule. The king was, however, ransomed, and no final advantage was gained from the conquest but a yearly tribute of money amounting to about L20,000. Barsebai, after having reigned about 16 years upon the throne of Egypt, died, respected by the Christians for his mildness towards them, and revered by his subjects for his abolition of degrading and unmanly customs.* We shall pass over many of the succeeding reigns, which are replete with repetitions of the scenes of bloody disorders we have formerly had occasion to describe.

The Knights of Rhodes had suffered so much from inquietude and dread of attack, rather than any real invasion, that they applied for, and obtained a peace, by means of one Cœur, a French merchant, who traded with and was respected by the Egyptians. In 1453, the year of the taking of Constantinople by

* Amongst which may be reckoned his hindering the Egyptians from prostrating themselves on the ground before him, and altering the custom to the kissing of the hand.

Mohammed the ſecond, ſome diſputes aroſe about the throne of Cyprus. John de Luſignan, the late king, had left but one legitimate child, a daughter, who claimed the throne in oppoſition to James, an illegitimate ſon of the ſame monarch. Mohammed II. advocated the cauſe of James, which was ſtrengthened by aid from Venice from the relations of one Catharine Cornaro whom he had married. The Knights of Rhodes defended the claims of the Princeſs Charlotte, who had married Lewis, a ſon of the Duke of Savoy; and it was the intention of

INAL,

the reigning Sultan of Egypt, to have ſupported her, but he was unwilling to diſpleaſe the mighty Mohammed, who had lately given ſo great a proof of his perſeverance and intrepidity in taking Conſtantinople; therefore he detained the ſhips and ambaſſadors of Cyprus. This conduct was reſented by the Knights taking ſome Venetian gallies, emptying them of the Egyptian merchandize which they contained, and diſmiſſing them and their crews, if Venetian; if Egyptian, enſlaving them. This had nearly created alarming differences, if James de Milly, the grand maſter, had not with ſucceſs exerted his prudence to keep his Knights and Venice on terms of amity. Inal died in 1461, and till the death of Mohammed II. which happened in 1481, Egypt enjoyed a profound tranquillity. Bajazet, the ſon of the latter, was left poſſeſſor of the throne of Turkey, which he reſigned till he had made

a pilgrimage to Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, &c. When he returned he resumed it, but his brother Zizim* excited great disturbances, by pretending he was the rightful heir, and when he found that he could not have the throne, but must be dependant all his life for support on a brother, who would perhaps use means to destroy him that his own son might succeed to the purple,† he threw himself first upon the protection of

CAITBEY,

(or more properly Kaite Bey,) then Sultan of Egypt, then upon Rhodes, and lastly upon France, where he was murdered by an emissary of Bajazet.

Bajazet, considering that Egypt had been a long time tranquil, and that his father had acquired immortal fame by the valour of his arms, bethought himself of invading that country. But afterwards, considering that she might be too powerful to contend with openly for the present, he secretly disturbed her possessions in Asia Minor, and planted guards in the passes of the Circassian mountains, whence her supplies of slaves only were to be obtained. In 1501, however, the reigning Sultan,

CANSU,

or Campson Gauri, entered into a league with Baja-

* This is the common spelling of the name, tho' we believe jem, a word taken from a delicious kind of Eastern grape, is the proper one.

† This was the common expression with the Emperors of Eastern Rome, and as Mohammed and his successors have established themselves in their seat, it may not be an improper appellation, tho' they wear another colour.

zet againſt the Knights of Rhodes; it is more than probable, therefore, that there would again be allowed a free paſſage to and from Circaſſia. The Portugueſe had, a few years previous to the time of which we are now treating, diſcovered a paſſage to India, by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and the Indians, thinking that they ſhould be inſulted and enſlaved, eſpecially as they were Mohammedans, applied for aſſiſtance to Canſu, who, no doubt from intereſt in the firſt inſtance, becauſe the trade of Egypt would be deſtroyed by this innovation of the Portugueſe, readily lent them a powerful aid. This, however, was of little avail, for the Knights of Rhodes ſo continually haraſſed and took the veſſels of Egypt, that no conſiderable quantity of timber could be ſafely landed to build ſhips for the aſſiſtance of the Indians, and the preſervation of their own commerce. To carry on the little trade they had with ſafety, the Egyptians had for ſome time employed a very large and well armed veſſel, which had ſeveral ſtories, contained 1000 ſoldiers, and mounted 100 cannon. She appeared more like a large floating caſtle than a ſhip.—The Knights of Rhodes having gained certain information when this unwieldy veſſel ſailed, laden with the richeſt merchandize, appointed Gaſtineau, the commander of Limoges, with the Admiral's ſhip, to intercept her progreſs. It was not long before ſhe made her appearance. The Knights called her to ſtrike, but ſhe diſdained any anſwer but defiance.—

They poured a broadside into her; the Egyptians solicited mercy, and surrendered. Much more bravery might have been expected of the crew of this vessel, for had she even persevered in her passive resistance, without exerting her defensive arms, she must have withstood the fire of one ship built for no extraordinary occasion.

Selim I. who, in the year 1512, had mounted his father's throne at Constantinople, after having made his way by the death of his elder brothers, intended to enlarge his empire by the addition, if possible, of part of Persia. He proceeded directly upon that country, but, being much reduced, was compelled to return to his capital; whence soon after he again issued, and encamped near the city of Halep, with an intention of proceeding to complete the work which one of his generals had successfully begun. Campson Gauri met him near that place with an almost equal force, and offered him his assistance against the Persians, but in the mean time some Circassians, probably without order from the Sultan, intercepted and plundered several camels on their journey towards the Ottoman camp. This so enraged Selim, that he instantly changed his intention of carrying on war with Persia, and declared open hostility to Egypt. It is said by an able Turkish officer who commanded in Selim's army, that this expedition was first designed against Egypt, for his master had heard of a treaty of alliance between the Persian and Egyptian powers,

and he determined rather to march againſt the latter, for the Green-heads, or Uſbek Tartars, ſo called from wearing green caps, ſufficiently employed all the addreſs and military activity of the former. This is the account given of the commencement of the war, by the Kadilaſker; that of Sadi Effendi is the one we have before mentioned, and to which we ſhall adhere. Khair Bey and Gazel Bey, governors of Damaſcus and Halep, who commanded the right and left wings of the Egyptian army, urged Campſon on to battle; he, thinking that their eagerneſs proceeded from enmity to Selim, complied with their requeſt, and they deſerted him with their forces in the heat of the conteſt. He rallied his valiant few around him, and ruſhed again upon the Turks; ſurrounded on every ſide by the Ottoman ſcymetars, he called aloud on Selim, and fancying he ſaw him under every turban, he ſlew all that approached his ſword; at length not finding Selim, and weary with the ſlaughter himſelf had made, he fell without a wound. The Turks for a while kept aloof from him, though expiring; but at length the cowards approached and buried their ſabres in his proſtrate body. Some of the chriſtian writers, contrary to this account, alledge that Campſon was trodden to death by the Turkiſh cavalry.

Selim entered Halep, and behaved with great clemency, and even kindneſs to the inhabitants. Having firſt viſited Jeruſalem, he ſet forward to Cairo, where

TUMAN BEY

had been ſet upon the throne in the room of Campſon Gauri. A gallant defence was made by the Mamlukes, but they were finally defeated, and Tuman Bey fled to an Arabian ſheik, by whom he was cruelly given up to the Ottoman Sultan. Mercy was for ſome time ſhown to him, but ſome reports having been ſpread of his intention of conſpiring againſt the governor placed by the conqueror in the city, he was hanged at the gate of Zavila.* The ſubjection of Grand Cairo, and ſome of the adjoining cities and important poſts, was followed by the ſubmiſſion of all Egypt. Selim remained ſome time in the country after he had ſubdued it, and careſully ſettled its affairs. As a ſpecimen of his *clemency*, it may not be amiſs to obſerve that he ordered a theatre to be made on the bank of the Nile with a throne upon it, and there compelled all his Egyptian priſoners, to the number of 30,000, to be beheaded in his preſence and their bodies thrown into the Nile. Conſcious that, if he ſuffered the province to devolve upon one man, it might be eaſy to throw off the Ottoman yoke, Selim adopted a government for the preſervation of Egypt different from thoſe of all the other provinces in the power of Turkey.

* Some accounts ſay that this unfortunate prince was dragged from a marsh, in which he had plunged himſelf to the neck, and ſoon after put to death.

CHAP. IV.

From the conquest of Egypt by Selim I. of Turkey, to the treaty of Campo Formio in 1797.

THE new government was compoſed of a divan of the commander of the military corps, with the Pacha as preſident, and 24 Circaſſians, Mamlukes, or Egyptians, with the title of Beys, from amongſt whom were choſen thoſe who fulfilled the particular offices of commander of the Janiſſaries, accountant general, conductor of the caravan, governor of Grand Cairo, governor of Upper Egypt, and director of the ſheriffs. The following are the conditions to which Selim compelled this ſemi-republican government to conform:

I. That our ſovereignty ſhall be acknowledged by the republic; and in token of obedience, our lieutenant ſhall be received as our repreſentative; but to do nothing againſt our will or the republic; but on the contrary, ſhall co-operate with it for its welfare on all occaſions. Or if he attempt to infringe any of its privileges, the republic is at liberty to ſuſpend him from his authority, and to ſend to our Sublime Porte a complaint againſt him.

II. In time of war the republic ſhall provide 12,000 troops at its own expence, to be commanded by a Sangiac,* or Sangiacs.

III. The republic ſhall raiſe annually, and ſend to our Sublime Porte, the ſum of 560,000 aſſany,† accompanied by a Sangiac, who ſhall have a ſatisfactory receipt, &c.

IV. The ſame ſum to be raiſed for the uſe of Medina and Mecca.

* Theſe were the Beys or governors of the provinces.

† An aſſany is in value about half a crown Engliſh, and the tribute has ſince been much augmented. In ſome inſtances even to 800,000 aſſany, or about £100,000.

V. No more troops or Janizaries ſhall be kept by the republic in time of peace than 14,000, but in time of war they may be increaſed to oppoſe our and the republic's enemies.

VI. The republic ſhall ſend annually to our granary, out of the produce of the country, one million of caſiz,* or meaſures of corn, viz. 600,000 of wheat, and 400,000 of Barley.

VII. The republic fulfilling theſe articles, ſhall have a free government over all the inhabitants of Egypt, independent of our lieutenant; but ſhall execute the laws of the country, with the advice of our Mollah, (or high prieſt) under our authority, and that of our ſucceſſors.

VIII. The republic ſhall have the mint, as formerly; but with this condition: that it be under the inſpection of our lieutenant, that the coin may not be adulterated.

IX. That the republic ſhall erect a *Sheik bellet* out of the number of the Beys, to be confirmed by our lieutenant; and that the ſaid *Sheik bellet* ſhall be our repreſentative, and ſhall be eſteemed by all our lieutenants, and all our officers, of high and low rank, as the head of the republic; and if our lieutenant be guilty of oppreſſion, or exceed the bounds of his authority, the ſaid *Sheik bellet* ſhall repreſent the grievances of the republic to our Sublime Porte; but in caſe any foreign enemy or enemies diſturb the peace of the republic, we and our ſucceſſors engage to protect it with our utmoſt power, until peace be re-eſtabliſhed, without any coſt or expence to the republic.

Given and ſigned by our *clemency* to the republic of Egypt."

Whether or no Selim defended the republic without its expenſe or aid, hiſtory does not inform us, but though we know how little treaties are and have been adhered to in our own times, we likewiſe know that Selim was a man of ſo good a temper, and ſo generous, though now and then carried off into the moſt outrageous fits of uncontrollable and paſſionate cruelty, that we ſhould be inclined to believe he would fulfil as much, if not more of this engagement, than many of his predeceſſors had done of ſimilar com-

* A caſiz is about 25 occa, and an occa is about 2lb. 10 oz. avoirdupoiſe.

pacts. One part of his conduct we muſt relate though it does not exactly come under our line of hiſtory, which we cannot read without feeling ſenſibly affected, and which will ſhow that even deſpots have ſometimes a ſenſe of retribution. One day, during his laſt illneſs, leaning his head upon the lap of Piri Pacha, whom he ſincerely loved, he ſaid, "O! Piri, I ſee I muſt ſhortly die, for I am beyond the power of medicine." Piri, thinking that a favorable opportunity, told him he would do well to build an hoſpital for the relief of the poor, with the great wealth taken from the Perſian merchants in different parts of his empire. Selim anſwered, "Wouldſt thou have me to beſtow other men's goods, unjuſtly ſnatched from them, on works of charity for my own vain glory? That I will never do:—ſee they be reſtored to their rightful owners." His command was ſtrictly obeyed.

Soliman I., upon the death of Selim, which happened in 1520, aſcended his father's throne. From the grandeur of his exploits, and the magnanimity of his conduct, this prince obtained, and deſervedly, the title of Magnificent. He began his illuſtrious reign with the taking of Belgrade and the long conteſted iſland of Rhodes. During the ſiege of the latter, Khair Bey, governor of Egypt, dying, Jumun Caiſhuf, an Arab ſheik, by his eloquence and purſe, perſuaded the people to revolt, and to throw off the yoke befitting not a race ſo worthy of freedom, and by

theſe flatteries, and well ſeconded calls to the people for liberty, he threw the whole province into one common confuſion and diſſatisfaction. Soliman, when he heard of this, inſtantly diſpatched his Vizier Muſtapha, who arrived in Egypt in a few days with five ſhips, and routing the rebels, brought the country again into a ſtate of tranquillity. Soliman not being able, however, to manage the whole of the affairs without aſſiſtance, raiſed a Janizary from his ſtation to that of Grand Vizier. This ſtep affronted Muſtapha, who thought he deſerved rather a reward than this diſgraceful humiliation; revenge, therefore, raged high in his boſom, and he reſolved to make Egypt his own. He humbly intreated Soliman to grant him the government of Egypt as a reward for his paſt ſervices. This Soliman freely granted him, adding that he reſerved for himſelf only the royal name and the power of iſſuing the coin. Thus inveſted with power, and thus enriched with Khair Bey's treaſures, and thoſe of ſeveral proſcribed rebels, Muſtapha reſolved to bring the whole empire under his dominion. He imparted his deſign to Mehemmed Effendi, a ſcribe of the Divan. This man, however, ſtill had ſome ſenſe of his allegiance to the Sultan, and poſting himſelf and ſome truſty accomplices in a proper ſituation, he endeavoured to ſlay his maſter as he came to bathe. Muſtapha, informed of this by a faithful ſervant, eſcaped through a back door, and fled to the Sheik of the Arabs, who with a conſiderable force

advanced againſt Mehemmed. The latter received, as a reward for his fidelity, the government of Egypt, and encouraging the ſoldiers with a large ſum of money, to diſplay his loyalty he determined to overthrow Muſtapha, whom he met, defeated, and beheaded, notwithſtanding he had been deſpiſed for his want of valour and experience.

Soliman gave his Grand Vizier his ſiſter in marriage to confirm him in his fidelity, and ſoon after ſent him to Egypt to diſperſe and ſubdue the remaining rebels; he arrived at Cairo, overcame any reſiſtance the rebels could make, hanged their ringleaders, and confiſcated their eſtates. Amongſt their effects a quantity of gold was diſcovered, which they had coined into ducats, ſome of which are ſtill extant, and bear the name of Ibrahimi.

As we gradually proceed from the ancient habitation of the Caliphs, and afterwards of the Sultans, to the more refined elegance of Conſtantinople, we are ſtruck at once with the increaſing power which the Eunuchs and ſervants of the palace are acquiring through the favor of the principal women of the Harem. Egypt retained its former Pacha, and a regular ſucceſſion was obſerved till 1583, at which period Haſſan, the favorite Eunuch of Amurat III.'s beſt beloved wife, procured from the Sultan, now beginning to aſſume the title of Grand Seignior, the government of Egypt. Avarice and extortion were the ruling paſſions of Haſſan's boſom, and he carried

them to ſuch an exceſs that the people intreated his removal. He was removed and impriſoned, but through the intreaties of the Sultana he was ſoon again taken into favour. Ibrahim Pacha, whom Amurat had appointed to fill his place in Egypt inſtead of Haſſan, was as avaricious and oppreſſive as his predeceſſor. The cauſe of this is ſaid to have been that he was promiſed the Sultan's daughter in marriage after he had amaſſed a certain ſum of money, of which Amurat, it would appear, was exceedingly fond.—Ibrahim, when he had made extortions enough to ſatisfy the avaricious Grand Seignor, and as ſoon as Haſſan was reinſtated, ſet forward on his return to Conſtantinople. He travelled by way of Damaſcus, and coming to Mount Libanus, round which many of the independent tribes called Druſi or Durzi* had ſettled themſelves, by a variety of ſtratagems, accompanied by the moſt horrid cruelties and rapacity, he overpowered the Sheiks of the different tribes, and as a conſequence of his brutality, gave the Grand Seignor a million of gold, the amount of his plunder, independent of the revenue of Egypt, which, as ſome writers inform us, amounted to 600,000 ducats.

MOHAMMED III.

ſucceeded Amurat in the year 1595. During his

* From one Durzi, the founder of their religion, who propagated the belief that the Caliph Hakim, who lived in 1020, was God incarnate. Their ſacred volumes are, or were before the revolution, in the King of France's library.

reign, Egypt was kept in a comparative ſtate of tranquillity by Murad the then Pacha of Grand Cairo. He was a man of an auſtere and forbidding character, which, joined with an inſurmountable and carefully-concealed cunning, made him a very formidable perſonage in the ſtate. His faithful ſervices, for cruelty to thoſe verſed in cruelty muſt ſeem faithful, called forth the attention of the ſucceeding Grand Seignor, Ahmed I.; and the now aged, but ſtill inſatiable and blood-thirſty Pacha, was ſummoned to Conſtantinople, and raiſed to the rank of Grand Vizier, or firſt murderer of the empire. No man who has a ſpark of fellow feeling in his boſom will ſay that this title is not due to the creature who could tamely look on, and, without remorſe or reſiſtance, ſubmit to ſerve under and to adulate his former prince, when making his way to the throne of his anceſtors through the blood of 19 brethren, who could ſlay without compunction every one who oppoſed his views, and who now perhaps found his way to the firſt ſtep of the throne, that he might be *useful* to his ſovereign. When

OTHMAN II.

came to the turban in 1618, great endeavours were made to increaſe the diſcipline and order of the military, who were much degenerated in bravery, eſpecially that part of the eſtabliſhment known to us by the title of Janizaries. The monarch alſo wiſhed, in ſome degree, to new model the government, and

to effect his purpoſes with the greater ſecurity, he raiſed a conſiderable army in Grand Cairo, and ſecured to himſelf the principal forces in Syria. But the Janizaries and other ſoldiery conceiving that the Sultan muſt have ſome other ſecret views, eſpecially when he ordered the richeſt utenſils and furniture, as well as treaſures, to be taken from the palace and temples, or moſques, under a pretence of a pilgrimage to Mecca, ſlew him and his Vizier, and ſet

MUSTAPHA,

younger brother of Ahmed I. and Othman the ſecond's uncle, into the ſeat of blood and ſplendour, whence it appears he had been baniſhed by the ſame nephew who was now deſtroyed by the fickle ſoldiery to accelerate his exaltation. Between the year 1618, when this prince aſcended the throne, and 1650, little of importance occurred, except the taking of Candia by the Turks. Nothing indeed remarkable ſeems to have taken place in Egppt for a very conſiderable time, till their ſpirit became a little more elevated, and the yoke of bondage began to preſs too heavily; and at this period ere long we ſhall arrive.

A pretender to the throne of Turkey aroſe in the year 1658; but his ſupporter, Ibrahim Pacha, was taken by ambuſh near Alexandria, where he had pitched his camp, and which city had been deluded by his promiſes, and deceitful proteſtations of the impoſtor being a ſon of Amurat IV. into a declaration

in his favour. The people were pardoned, however, on a promiſe of return to obedience, and the flames of rebellion extinguiſhed. Between this time and 1726 there appears to have been no differences in the ſtate of Egypt. The Ottomans had been ſo arduouſly engaged in carrying on hoſtilities with Perſia and Ruſſia, that little or no leiſure was allowed them to revert to the condition of this mighty and more deſerving province. So long neglected, it is no wonder if we find that the divan or council had riſen far above their former controlled authority, to a ſtate of independence of the Pachas, and indeed to a degree of power which made even theſe, their *governors*, attendant on their pleaſure, and obnoxious to their anger. The ſeven military corps had at firſt one common treaſure, which was not allowed to be diſperſed. The chiefs had intereſt enough to procure to themſelves the privilege of poſſeſſing private property, for which they were compelled to conciliate the Mamluke governors, on whom depended the lands and villages they had obtained. Thus the ſoldiers, who had formerly been the maſters of the Beys, now acquired private and individual property, at the price of their ſuperiority. The ſoldiery clung to their benefactors to the laſt, however upſtart, and by whatever diſhonourable means they had exalted themſelves to their ſtations, thus affording a glorious opportunity for ſome brave, enterprizing genius, to aſſert and obtain independence to his country; and ac-

cordingly about the year 1746, Ibrahim, one of the Cayas of the Janizaries, who when they had been in office one year retired into the divan, made himſelf literally maſter of Egypt, though ſome nominal obedience might be, and indeed was ſtill, obſerved towards the Sultan. He had ſo well diſpoſed his project, that of the 24 Beys or Sangiacs, 8 were of his houſehold and his partizans. Still more independent was he rendered, by the adherence of Rodoan, one of the moſt powerful military commanders.—The commands of the Pacha were diſobeyed, and even the orders of the Sultan were less reſpected than thoſe of Ibrahim. But a more heroic character ſtill, now burſts into a blaze upon the world, and that our readers may be better able to judge of his conduct and bravery, we ſhall trace him from his infancy.

Youſeph, or Joſeph, was born in Natolia in 1728. He was the ſon of a Greek prieſt of a good family, who intended him as his ſucceſſor in the dignity of his paſtoral office. Being a youth of enterpriſing ſpirit and undaunted reſolution, he practiſed the moſt dangerous amuſements, and frequently hunted in the moſt perilous ſituations. In one of his excurſions of the latter kind, in a neighbouring foreſt, he and ſeveral of his companions were ſeized and carried off by banditti. Youſeph was conveyed to Grand Cairo and ſold as a ſlave to Ibrahim, who arrayed him in the uſual dreſs of a Mamluke, and called him

Ali. He ſoon excelled the other Mamlukes in the addreſs of his management of the horſe, in his dexterity in throwing the javelin, or rather the jerid or jereed, a ſort of weapon frequently uſed in mock combats by the Mohameddans, and in handling his fire arms and ſabre. He rapidly advanced in Ibrahim's houſehold; and was ſoon made lictor aga (ſword bearer) and raznadar (treaſurer). For ſome time he was under the protection of the Pacha of Egypt, whoſe name was Rahiph. He paſſed through various offices under Ibrahim, who was then Sheik-bellet, and at length was received ſo much into favour, as to be allowed to accompany Rahiph to Mecca with the caravan of pilgrims, the former Pacha having been created Emir Hadge, or prince of the caravan, the ſecond dignity in Egypt. The caravan was attacked in its march by the Arabs, but Ali with the Mamlukes fell upon them with ſo much determined bravery that they fled diſcomfited, leaving numbers of their dead on the field. At the return of the caravan, ſeveral tribes of Arabs aſſembled to revenge their former defeat. Ali gave them battle, penetrated into the thickeſt of their ſquadrons, and overthrowing and trampling under foot all who oppoſed him, obtained a ſignal victory. Ibrahim, with deſerved admiration of the heroic conduct of his lieutenant, which office he then held, propoſed in full divan to have Ali elected one of the Beys. This Ibrahim the Circaſſian ſtrenuouſly op-

poſed, as he conſtantly did every meaſure brought forward by the other Ibrahim his enemy. The Emir however prevailed, and Ali was elected a Bey. Become one of the 24 Beys, Ali defended his benefactor with the greateſt conſtancy; but all his vigilance was unavailing, for he was aſſaſſinated in 1758, by ſome murderers hired by the Circaſſian.—Ali, however, after three years had paſſed by without an opportunity offering itſelf, having been choſen Sheik-bellet, lieutenant of Egypt, found means to revenge the death of his patron by ſtabbing Ibrahim the Circaſſian with his own hand. By this tribute of affection to his former maſter, he created himſelf many enemies, and was on the point of falling into the ſnares of the Sangiacs, who had been attached to the Circaſſian; indeed he could only ſave himſelf by haſty flight to the governor of Jeruſalem. But even here he was not ſafe, for his vengeful and malicious perſecutors wrote to the Porte to demand his life, and an order for his head* was accordingly transmitted to the holy city. A lucky opportunity, however, afforded Rahiph the means of informing his former friend of the decree againſt him, and he adviſed him to betake himſelf to flight, as the beſt meaſure to inſure his ſafety. Ali took

* Theſe orders are conveyed by *Capigi-bachi*, meſſengers of the Grand Seignior, who are authorized by a firman, or a royal order, to behead Beys or other officers who are in a ſtate of proſcription or diſgrace.

refuge with the Sheik Daher, prince of St. John D'Acre, who had defended his principality 50 years againſt the whole Ottoman force. But ambition ſoon drew him, one of her moſt ardent votaries, from his retreat, for when he found that Rahiph was Grand Vizier, he ventured to Grand Cairo, where he was received with acclamations of joy from all ranks of people, and re-eſtabliſhed in his former office with general ſatisfaction. But Ali was ſtill in a very precarious ſituation. The Beys who were formerly at enmity with him, though now in appearance reconciled, ſtill cheriſhed a ſpark of hatred and revenge in their boſoms, which only waited ſome favourable opportunity to burſt into a flame. The thunder rumbled over his head, and he was fully aware how neceſſary it was for him to avert or elude the ſtorm.

In 1765, when the Grand Vizier Rekiph died, the maſk of friendſhip was caſt off, and open war was declared againſt Ali. He thought it better to fly from the malice of his enemies than to provoke them with an inferior force, and therefore once more ſought retirement and conſolation in the principality of Sheik Daher. The Sangiacs, who had been friends of Ibrahim the Circaſſian, conceiving that Ali could not any longer interpoſe, made uſe of the moſt cruel treatment towards his remaining partizans, which but ſerved to increaſe their number, ſo that finally they found themſelves ſtrong enough to bear a con-

teſt with their oppreſſors. Ali was conſequently requeſted to return. He did ſo, and his future conduct was what might have been expected. He executed four of his moſt inveterate perſecutors, and by his demeanour towards his followers he ſecured himſelf more firmly than ever in the government of the republic. He increaſed his Mamlukes to the number of 6,000, and maintained 10,000 maugrabi or *western men* from the coaſt of Barbary, and in ſix years he made 16 of his moſt beloved Mamlukes Beys, and one of them aga of the Janizaries. By ſeverity of diſcipline he made excellent ſoldiers, and by his almoſt paternal attention to the education of the youth, and conferring favors on the moſt deſerving, he firmly attached them to him, and their gratitude bound them to his fortunes. He had, therefore, nothing to dread; his colleagues loved him, and his enemies were reſtrained by their fears of his valor. The Arabs were driven to their former ſolitude, and the agriculture of Egypt began to flouriſh anew. The chiefs of each village were made reſponſible for every crime committed in it, and puniſhed for the offence till the real criminal was ſurrendered. For the firſt time ſince the government of the Turks, travellers paſſed over the whole country without moleſtation. Ali directed every perſon who had ſuffered injuſtice to apply directly to himſelf for redreſs. A Bey forcibly tore a beautiful ſhawl from the ſhoulders of a Venetian merchant.

The Venetian complained to Ali, who ſummoned the Bey, ſeverely reprimanded him, and had ſtruck off his head but for the promptings of humanity.

He had purchaſed a beautiful female ſlave from Red Ruſſia; her flaxen hair reached to her feet; her figure was tall and commanding; her complexion the moſt pure; her eyes of the moſt languiſhing blue; in ſhort, her unconſcious beauty dazzled and captivated Ali at firſt ſight. Her mind was even ſuperior to her form. He could not bend her to his wiſhes. He talked of his power;—ſhe ſhewed, though her body was in fetters, her mind was unſhackled; ſhe was inſenſible to pomp and grandeur. He offered to marry her, if ſhe would renounce chriſtianity; ſhe refuſed; and at length entirely ſubdued, allowing her to keep her own religion and to practiſe it in private, he married her, and never had any other wife. In the midſt of pomp and ſplendour, home recurred to the mind of Ali, and he ſent for his father and family; they met him at Boulde;* and as ſoon as Ali perceived his father, he ran, fell on his knees, and kiſſed his feet.†

* This interview is disputed by ſeveral writers, but the generally feeling mind of Ali would perſuade us to credit it.

† "And Joſeph made ready his chariot, and went up to meet his father to Goſhen; and preſented himſelf unto him; and he fell on his neck, and wept on his neck a good while.—Geneſis xlvi. v. 29." This quotation is given by Savary; the great reſemblance the meeting bears to that of Joſeph and his father muſt be our beſt excuſe for copying it. We have followed Savary's beautiful account of Ali Bey almoſt without any difference.

He detained his aged ſire in Egypt ſeven months, during which time the Mamlukes, the fair Maria, once the Ruſſian ſlave, the Pacha, and the whole divan, contended which ſhould pay the greateſt reſpect to the father of their maſter. The daughter and grandſon of the aged prieſt remained behind, and Ali ſoon after married the former to Mahamed Abou Dahab,* who was ſecretly joined with the houſe of Ibrahim, to plot and to procure Ali's deſtruction, and who, from his inordinate love of money, thought no means unjuſt that might lead to his obtaining the office of Sheik-bellet. The Beys of his faction gave him conſiderable ſums of money to get rid of Ali, but he, to make himſelf more certain of his death at ſome future period, diſcovered this to his maſter as a conſpiracy of the Beys themſelves. This was conſidered a proof of Mahamed's fidelity, and he was conſequently admitted to his maſter's moſt ſecret counſels. The villain afterwards offered Tentaoui, another of Ali's favorite Beys, 12,000 pieces of gold if he would aſſaſſinate his maſter whilſt they played at cheſs. Ali did but laugh when informed of this propoſal, ſo prejudiced was he in favor of Mahamed. The murderous minded Bey tried another expedient, and aſked his wife to poiſon the brother ſhe loved, by adminiſtering a drug in a diſh of coffee. She rejected it with hor-

* Father of gold, perhaps he was very avaricious.

ror, and warned her brother to fear Mahamed Abou Dahab as his worſt enemy. So many warnings ought to have rendered him cautious, but blinded by his affections, and confident of his ſafety from the favors he had conferred, he diſregarded the monitions of his ſincereſt friends. In 1768, the Ruſſians declared war againſt the Turks, and the Sheik-bellet according to cuſtom raiſed 12,000 men to aſſiſt the Porte. His enemies, however, who had before bribed Mahamed, now tranſmitted a letter to the Divan of Conſtantinople, declaring that Ali intended this force for the aſſiſtance of Ruſſia. A Capigi Bachi (or meſſenger to behead him) was accordingly ſent off, but here again Ali was indebted to ſome friend in the Divan for ſafety, who immediately diſpatched a meſſenger by land and another by ſea to warn him of the approaching danger.—The Sheik-bellet ſent Tentaoui with 12 Mamlukes to meet the Capigi Bachi and to ſlay him and his attendants, which they did, and buried their bodies in the ſand. Having obtained the firman or mandate for his head, which the Capigi had with him, Ali read it to the full divan, and then addreſſed them thus:—"How long ſhall we be victims to Ottoman deſpotiſm; or what faith can we put in the treaties of the Porte? Not many years ſince ſeveral of the Beys were aſſaſſinated contrary to all juſtice; ſome of you were preſent, and ſtill bear the marks of that maſſacre. The marble we tread on

is yet red with the blood of four of your colleagues —to-day I, and to-morrow the man who occupies my place, muſt die. The hour for ſhaking off the tyrant's yoke is arrived. Let us unite with Ruſſia, and free ourſelves from a barbarous maſter. Aſſiſt me, and I will be reſponſible for the liberty of Egypt." The effect of this ſpeech was inſtantaneous. Sixteen Beys were in favour of Egyptian independence. The Pacha of Egypt was ordered to quit his poſt in 24 hours, and Ali diſpatched meſſengers to inform Sheik Daher of what he had done, propoſing to him to join their forces and conquer Syria.

As ſoon as the news of the rebellion reached Conſtantinople, the Pacha of Damaſcus was ſent off with 20,000 men to attack Sheik Daher before the two armies could form a junction. Sheik Daher had been accuſtomed to war with the Turks all his life, and was not diſmayed when the Pacha's approach was announced to him. He immediately aſſembled a force of 9000 cavalry, of which he formed three diviſions: the firſt two were ordered to conceal themſelves among the mountains till a concerted ſignal ſhould be given; the Sheik himſelf with the third retired to a diſtance, leaving his whole camp, with but few ſoldiers, and abundance of proviſions, in the plain through which he knew the Turks muſt paſs. The Pacha and his army coming up, finding the camp unoccupied, and perceiving that thoſe ſtrag-

glers who yet remained fled at his appearance, imagined that the ſcouts of Sheik Daher had informed him of his numerous force being ſo near, and that he and the army he had collected for oppoſition had fled panic ſtruck, leaving their camp and proviſions to the enemy. He and his ſoldiers, after a long march, feaſted without reſerve on the provender and liquors ſo eaſily acquired, and before dawn were totally incapacitated for defending themſelves. Sheik Daher, when he perceived this, gave the ſignal, and the three bodies of cavalry ruſhed from different directions: 8000 of the twenty were ſlain, great numbers made priſoners, and the Pacha himſelf had recourſe to a diſgraceful flight. Ali, hearing that his friend was in ſafety, turned his army elſewhere. Finding how beneficial commerce would be to his country, he levied two armies, one of 26,000 and another of 9000 men. He gave the command of the firſt to his brother-in-law, Abou Dahab, who was to traverſe Arabia Felix and the neighbouring provinces; and the ſecond to Iſmael Bey, who was to attack the maritime towns and ſeaports. Ali equipped a fleet to coaſt along the Red ſea, and bring the troops proviſions. Succeſs depended ſolely on the fidelity with which his commands were executed, ſo firmly and ſo ſkilfully had his deſigns been matured. In 1770 the troops left the capital, and Ali remained at home, making every poſſible exertion for the promotion of the happineſs of his people.

The cuſtom duties had long been in the hands of the Jews, well known in many countries for their rapacity, but more than all in Egypt. They had often impoſed on foreign merchants with impunity, and by ſome means their extortion and avarice reached Ali's ear, ever attentive to the voices of the injured. Theſe duties were immediately intruſted to the Syrian chriſtians, with an expreſs deſire that they ſhould be lenient upon Europeans; thus intending to make Egypt the emporium of commerce to Europe, India, and perhaps Africa. He appointed officers for the ſpecial purpoſe of protecting the merchants from injuſtice and exactions. He commanded his generals to leave officers in the ſea-ports they took, to welcome the veſſels of India, and to guard them againſt the cupidity of the inhabitants. Thus happily ſituated in his government, and thus beloved by a grateful people, he raiſed the republic to ſuch a degree of ſplendour as it never knew under any previous or ſubſequent governor. In the mean time, his generals were triumphing in Arabia. Abou Dahab in a ſingle campaign overthrew the Scherif of Mecca, inſtituted Emir Abdallah in his place, and conquered all Yemen. Emir Abdallah, to ingratiate himſelf with Ali, entitled him Sultan of Egypt and the two ſeas. Ismael conquered all the towns on the eaſtern coaſt of the Arabian gulph. After theſe glorious deeds of arms, they returned to Cairo and were received amidſt

loud and cheering acclamations, and their victories were celebrated by the rejoicings of a gladdened and almoſt newly created people, ſo much were they altered under the exerciſe of the juſt and mild ſway of Ali, uncontrolled by the domineering and undiſcriminating tyranny of the Pachas or Grand Seigniors. Ali then diſpatched Abou Dahab to Syria, to attempt the conqueſt of her cities; many of which, with the aſſiſtance of the aged prince of Acre, he took with very little oppoſition. In three days he carried Gaza by aſſault, and drove the Turks before him like ſheep. Rama was ſtill longer before it capitulated, but at length it yielded to the potency of the Egyptian arms. Naplouſe, formerly Neapolis, held out, till Abou Dahab, deſpairing of taking it by ſtorm, contracted his lines and reduced it to ſubmiſſion by famine. Jeruſalem for the preſent he ſpared, under a ſolemn aſſurance that that holy city would ſurrender after Damaſcus was taken. Joppa, latterly denominated Jaffa, capitulated after it had ſtood a ſiege of nearly three months, and loſt half of its inhabitants. Now maſter of many of the principal cities in Syria, Abou Dahab caſt his eyes on the capital Damaſcus, ſo famous for its well tempered blades, and beautiful veſſels of wrought ſilver, mentioned even in holy writ. This delightful place called by the Arabs Eſhams, the city of the Sun, bravely defended itſelf for two months, when the Pacha departed during

the night, and it surrendered. The garrison had retired within the citadel, which, after another tedious siege, yielded to the Egyptians.

During the time that Abou Dahab was conquering every city his arms could reach, Ali was not idly employed in promoting the welfare of his country. He offered alliance to Russia and Venice; that he might procure engineers and gunners from the the first; the conquest of the Mediterranean islands and provinces, so long in her possession, for the second; and extend his commerce into the most civilized countries of Europe, as he had done in Asia.—Aleppo was the only place left for Abou's conquest; but conquest was not his aim. He had gone rapidly through Arabia Felix and Syria, and now, when he saw that the soldiers were ripe for a revolt, and the spirit of rebellion, or of attachment to himself, had been sufficiently infused into their bosoms, he raised the standard of disaffection, and marched into Upper Egypt. He seized on Girga and the most important towns, and by force or address gaining the Beys who governed them, descended towards Grand Cairo. Ali, too late, repented of his folly, in not listening to the advice that was given him of the conduct of Abou Dahab, and assembling 20,000 men, made Ismael Bey their general, and posted them near Old Cairo to prevent them from crossing the river.—Thus, in a moment, might the enemy have been drowned or repulsed, had not the general opposed to

him proved equally perfidious. The junction of the two armies was a thunder ſtroke to the generous Ali, who, in the moment of deſpair, determined to ſhut himſelf and a few valiant friends in the caſtle of Grand Cairo. The ſons of Sheik Daher conjured him to fly to St. John D'Acre. He felt the reaſonableneſs of the counſel, and adopted it. At midnight did Ali Bey depart an exile from his own capital, for a third time, accompanied by the ſons of Sheik Daher, fourteen Beys of his own creation, and about 7000 ſoldiers. He took with him about three millions and a half of money in gold and ſilver; and arrived, after a forced march of five days, on the 16th of April, 1772, at the gates of Gaza.—The ſudden and overwhelming treaſon of two men, who had been ſo long neareſt his heart, threw Ali into a violent fever, from which he expected relief in death. While he was thus torn by grief ſo poignant, Sheik Daher, his aged and conſtant friend, viſited him, and embracing him as a father, told him he ought not yet to deſpair, that the Ruſſian ſquadron was approaching, by which he might remount a throne which he ſo well deſerved, and ſmile at the treaſon that had thrown him from it. The Arabian prince left Ali his phyſician, by whoſe means, in a few weeks, his health was reinſtated. A detachment from the Ruſſian ſquadron appearing before St. John d'Acre, Ali took the opportunity of writing to Count Orlow, aſking of him, as he had formerly done in

vain, cannon and gunners, beſides a body of 3000 Albanians, with an aſſurance that when re-eſtabliſhed in Cairo, the whole force of Egypt ſhould be at his command. He alſo addreſſed a letter to the Czarina, and with it a preſent of three beautiful horſes, richly capariſoned, to the Ruſſian Admiral.

The ſudden retreat of the treacherous Abou Dahab from his conqueſts, enabled the Turks to recover all they had loſt, and to put their cities into a better condition for ſtanding a ſiege or repelling an aſſault. Ali's ſoldiers, however, whether from a deſire to ſerve their maſter, though in adverſity, or from ſome order of his own, proceeded with the moſt ſtrenuous activity to attack and reduce the cities thus retaken. Sidon was taken by the valiant and faithful Tentdoui, with the loſs of 4000 men to the Turks, and ſcarcely 200 of his own. Jaffa was taken in Ali's name, and Mohammed Bey was triumphant in Syria. But the inhabitants of Joppa, or Jaffa, no ſooner ſaw the town deſerted by the Egyptian ſoldiery, than they ſeized upon all the clothing and neceſſaries which had been left by them, on the ſuppoſition that a new force would relieve them, and throwing off their allegiance to Egypt, declared the Turks to be their maſters. Ali marched on the 13th of Auguſt againſt Jaffa; the governor Muſtapha refuſed to ſurrender, and vigorous meaſures were immediately ſet on foot to compel him. He had fortified himſelf too well to be over-

come by ſtorm; Ali, therefore, determined to blockade him. On the 17th of December, 1772, a Ruſſian veſſel arrived at Jaffa under Britiſh colours, which brought back Ali's meſſenger with diſpatches, aſſuring him of the friendſhip of the Ruſſian admiral and powerful aſſiſtance, which ended in ſmoke.—Only two Ruſſian officers, three pieces of cannon (four pounders), ſeven barrels of gunpowder, and five hundred bullets were ſent, tho' ſuch mighty aſſiſtance was promiſed. In ſix months, however, after a tedious but deſtructive ſiege, Jaffa was taken, and Ali went on his victorious courſe towards Cairo, ſtrengthened by the conſciousneſs of ſucceſs and glory attending the man who was announced by the aſtrologers again to wield the ſceptre over Egypt. On the 13th of April, 1773, between Gaza and Cairo, Ali gained ſight of an hoſtile army from Abou Dahab, amounting by report to nearly three times his own numbers. They met,—for Ali's fate was ſet upon a caſt, and he was too much a hero to turn his back upon a perfidious foe. Tentaoui and his Mamlukes overthrew all before them. Now the fate of the battle was only not decided;—the Maugrabi, the mercenary troops, had fought as if the cauſe they advocated was their own;—they made one more furious onſet, and turned upon Ali the bloody ſabres they had been exerting in his favour. Ali had only 3000 men left, and they were ſurrounded. Tentaoui, the brave and faithful Tentaoui,

pierced the thickeſt of the battle as if he had only air to contend with, and fell upon a mountain of corſes himſelf had made. His Mamlukes and his faithful Beys gathered round Ali and beſought him to fly once more to the arms of the aged Daher, but their prayers were in vain; his only reply was, "Fly, friends! I requeſt, I command you; as for me, my hour is run." His Mamlukes all periſhed with their arms in their hands. And now laſt and alone, though dreaded as much as when defended by thouſands, ſtood Ali, unſubdued and undiſmayed.—He fought like a lion; like a lion he kept his hunters at bay, till wounded in the back by a treacherous and unſeen hand, he fell bathed in his blood. Abou Dahab ſhed tears of perfidy for Ali, and endeavoured to conſole him, but he turned away his head from the incorrigible and deſtructive villain. Pitileſsly deſtructive Ali found him, for after laying a week tortured with agony by his wounds, he periſhed by poiſon. Thus will ambition prompt to ill; ceaſeleſs ambition, that ſtrews her path with carcaſes, and mounts ſtep by ſtep on the bodies of thoſe ſhe has murdered. Abou Dahab was ſoon after found dead in his bed, ſuppoſed to have been poiſoned: it is not certainly aſcertained, but if it were ſo, heaven would ſcarcely pardon his murderer, the avenger of ſo many crimes. The Sheik Daher was betrayed in his own city, or by ſome accounts, in a veſſel in the port of St. John D'-Acre, beheaded, and his head ſent to Conſtantinople,

a mournful monument of the tranſitions of human fortune, and an inſtance, amongſt many, of goodneſs receiving no reward but the conſciouſneſs of right.

Thus, after the death of Ali Bey, fell his murderer and his friend; and the kingdom, which might have been raiſed to the higheſt place in the liſt of nations.

ISMAEL BEY,

when, by the death of Abou Dahab, he ſaw an opening, for which he had been long preparing, ſate himſelf quietly down in the throne, the reward of his treaſon. Mourad and Ibrahim, two of Ali's beys, had given in their allegiance; but conceiving that no faith was to be kept with a tyrant but as far as ſuited their own intereſts, as ſoon as they could collect a handful of men that might reſiſt the uſurper, they revolted, and fled to the deſerts. Six thouſand horſe joined their ſtandard from intereſted motives; they coaſted the river ſide, ſeizing the principal towns on its banks, and gradually approached Grand Cairo, after having vanquiſhed many detachments from Iſmael's force. In 1777 the hoſtile armies came in ſight of each other, and accommodations were propoſed from both ſides. Iſmael promiſed to reſtore the Beys to their rank in the divan and the kingdom, if they would return to their allegiance. They did return, and the Arab prince, who had aſſiſted them with 6000 horſe, repaired again to his deſert habitation. Iſmael, however, concealed an inveterate hatred under this ſeeming friendſhip and forgiveneſs—

he was determined to aſſaſſinate the two Beys the firſt day of their entrance into council. They, however, were informed of this, and fled again towards the deſerts, whence Ibrahim ſent offers of much more conſiderable pay to the ſoldiers of Iſmael, who were eaſily operated upon by the ſame incitements as their maſter. The troops deſerted him, and he fled into Syria, taking with him fifty camels laden with gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones. Iſmael having fled,

IBRAHIM AND MURAD

gained the kingdom, and were joyfully and triumphantly received by the people, who conſtituted them the two principal rulers of Egypt, Emir Hadge and Sheik Bellet. They determined, ſince they had ſeen Iſmael baniſhed and afterwards murdered, to extirpate as far as lay in their power the whole family.—Haſſan Bey was moſt to be dreaded, as he was moſt beloved by the people, and moſt reſpected by the other Beys and officers. His palace, therefore, they attacked, and after two days and two nights, he and his houſehold forced their way through their enemies. He was met, however, at ſome diſtance from the city by a troop of horſe, who ſurrounded and bound him. He requeſted to go for a moment into the houſe of a Sheik, an old and reſpected friend. His requeſt was granted, and having gained the terrace, he proceeded, while the ſoldiers were clamourous for his re-appearance, over ſeveral other houſes, and making his way to the door, he unhorſed a ſoldier, and wreſting the

ſword from his hand, fled towards Cairo. The troops followed him with great rapidity, but when he arrived in the city he ſhut ſeveral of the gates, which all the ſtreets have for public ſecurity, and taking the keys with him, ſoon left his purſuers far behind.—Entering the palace of Ibrahim, having covered his face with his ſhawl, he ſought the wife of the Sheik, who was his kinſwoman, found her, and beſought her to intercede for him; which ſhe did, and preſerved his life. But when Ibrahim found that Murad was on the eve of making war on him for ſheltering Haſſan, he conſented to his baniſhment as far as Gedda. He was accordingly taken to Saez, and ſhipped for Gedda; but one of the ſervants of the unfortunate Bey, who had followed him in his evil fortune, informed him that the captain had a firman, which, as ſoon as he landed, condemned him to loſe his head. He ſeized the arms that were on board in the night, killed the captain and three ſailors, flung the others overboard, and taking charge of the veſſel, ſteered firſt to Coſſier, and then to the Said. Murad, when he found that ſix of the Beys of the houſe of Iſmael were dead or in priſon, thought he might take the journey to Mecca with ſafety, which, as Emir Hadge, he muſt do, and ſet off on his arduous undertaking with a numerous body of troops and pilgrims. After contending with ſucceſs againſt the hot winds and ſand-pillars, he was attacked on his return by a numerous band of Arabs, who

came to revenge their relations whom Murad had killed. The choleric Murad did not think himself inferior in proweſs or family to Ibrahim, and though he had no Haſſan to contend about at preſent, he determined to aim at the office of Sheik Bellet.—They fought and were reconciled; but in the year 1784 they again quarrelled. Their differences were ſettled finally by Murad's receiving the office of Defterdar, or Accountant-general.

The Turks had long been engaged in a bloody and enervating war with the Ruſſians, who had ſo required the exertion of their utmoſt ſtrength, that they had had neither leiſure nor inclination to recommence the conqueſt of Egypt. Haſſan Pacha, however, a man who had been well experienced in the toils of war, both by ſea and land, had at length ſucceeded in procuring a peace between St. Petersburgh and the Porte, and began to concert plans againſt Ibrahim and Murad. In the month of May, 1786, he landed a force of 25,000 men in Alexandria. Ibrahim and Murad were not ſurpriſed, for when they heard of peace with the Ruſſians being ratified to the Turks, they drew out their forces. The adverſe troops met between Roſetta and Grand Cairo. The force of the Egyptians was numerous, and compoſed of Mamlukes and Maugrabi. They fought furiouſly on both ſides, but the diſcipline of Haſſan's troops overcame the dexterity of the Mamlukes and the mercenary rages of the Maugrabi, and

the Beys fled to Girga. Haſſan purſued, and was defeated. He made a retreat; but his troops becoming accuſtomed to the country, he ſoon after ſtormed the Egyptian camp, and forced Ibrahim and Murad to confine themſelves to Upper Egypt. Haſſan would have purſued his conqueſt, but the ſtate of affairs required his inſtant preſence at Conſtantinople. In October, 1787, he returned amid acclamations of triumph and welcome, having collected 6,000,000l. ſterling of the deficient tribute.

Haſſan, however, had not been long gone from Grand Cairo, when Ibrahim and Murad returned, and when Bekir, dignified with three tails, entered as Pacha of Egypt. He was attended by neither one nor the other of theſe officers; and when aſked for the accuſtomed return of the tribute, they denied that they had any thing to do with the revenue. Bekir was referred to other Beys, who told him, as in ſecrecy, that they had hid their treaſures in Card Medan, a plain without the city, which implied that it was not politic for him to ſeek it, ſince that was the place where the ſoldiers of Egypt had been aſſembled, and had been exerciſed in mock combat. Symptoms of diſcontent and rebellion were conſtantly manifeſting themſelves, which opened a way for the bloodſhed that ſucceeded from a deſire of conqueſt in one party, and of defence and victory only in the other.

CHAP. IV.

From Buonaparte's invasion of Egypt till the evacuation of the country by the French.

AMIDST these tumults and party broils, nothing of importance seems to have occurred in Egypt, till the year 1798. While domestic discords occupied the attention of the people in Egypt for the space of nine years, great and momentous events were passing in Europe. Republican France had vanquished Holland, shaken Austria, overthrown the States of Venice, and trampled upon the independence of Italy. Switzerland was degraded, her constitution annihilated; even legitimacy lay prostrate before the conquerors. The ambition of the French directory was unbounded; continental Europe was subdued; but Britain—proud, towering Britain—still remained. So unlimited was their licentiousness, they sought to invade, to conquer England. They raised a mighty army, and, like the invincible armada of Spain, it was proudly denominated, "The Army of England." But whether they were dissuaded from so hazardous an enterprise by the firm attitude of Great Britain, or the lukewarm manner in which Buonaparte regarded the matter, certain it is, that the project was abandoned for a time at least. While all were eager to see the event of these threats, an army was collecting in the vicinity of Toulon;

and on the 20th of May, 1798, the largeſt fleet that had ever been equipped in France for any diſtant expedition, ſet ſail under the orders of Buonaparte and Admiral Bruges. This fleet conſiſted of 13 ſhips of the line, of which one carried 120 guns, three 80, and nine 74; ſeven frigates of 40 guns, beſides ſmaller veſſels; making in all forty-four ſail. The ſoldiers, including cavalry and artillery, amounted to 40,000, and beſides theſe, numerous artiſts, geometers, aſtronomers, chemiſts, &c. accompanied the tranſports. Malta and Egypt were generally conjectured the deſtination of this immenſe armament, and ſo they proved. On the 9th of June, it arrived off the iſland of Malta. Permiſſion was demanded to enter the harbour for procuring water; the Governor demurred, and a tremendous fire of cannon was the conſequence. The defence of the Malteſe was feeble; the French without difficulty effected a landing, and the knights ſurrendered the iſland. It had at this time a garriſon of 7,000 men: the ſhores were defended by 10 fortreſſes of uncommon ſtrength, and the city of Valetta was reputed impregnable! And this is the place which two centuries before was beſieged by the celebrated Turkiſh Emperor, Solyman, at the head of 200,000 men, who, after a prodigious ſlaughter, was obliged to withdraw. From this circumſtance, Europeans thought the iſland had been ſurrendered through treachery. This conqueſt filled the French com-

mander and his army with the brighteſt hopes.—Leaving a ſufficient force to guard it, Buonaparte ſet ſail on the 20th June, and reached the coaſt of Egypt, his ultimate deſtination, on the 1ſt July. It now appeared manifeſt that by this expedition the French deſired to deſtroy the Britiſh trade with India.—Before we enter upon a more minute detail of the proceedings, we ſhall preſent the reader with a few of the admirable letters of Buonaparte to the Pacha, &c. which cannot fail to be highly intereſting, as they diſplay in a ſtriking manner the genius and policy of that illuſtrious general.

Buonaparte to the Pacha of Egypt.

"On board l'Orient, 12 Meſſidor, (June 30.)

"The executive directory of the French republic have frequently applied to the Sublime Porte, to demand the puniſhment of the beys of Egypt, who oppreſſed, with their vexations, the merchants of France. But the Sublime Porte declared that the beys, an avaricious and fickle race, refuſed to liſten to the principles of juſtice, and not only that the Porte did not authorize theſe inſults, but withdrew their protection from the perſons by whom they were committed.

"The French republic has reſolved to ſend a powerful army, to put an end to the exactions of the beys of Egypt, in the ſame manner as it has been ſeveral times compelled, during the preſent century, to take theſe meaſures againſt the beys of Tunis and Algiers. You, who ought to be the maſter of the beys, and yet are kept at Cairo, without power or authority, you ought to regard my arrival with pleaſure. You are doubtleſs already appriſed that I come not to attempt any thing againſt the Alcoran or the Sultan. You know that the French nation is the only ally which the Sultan has in Europe. Come, then, and meet me, and curſe, along with me, the impious race of the beys.

(Signed) "BUONAPARTE."

Buonaparte, Commander-in-Chief, to the Commander of the Caravan.

"On board l'Orient, 13 Meſſidor, (July 1.)

"The beys have oppreſſed our merchants with vexation; I am come to demand reparation. To-morrow I ſhall be in Alexandria. You ought to feel no uneaſineſs; you belong to our grand friend the Sultan; conduct yourſelf accordingly. But if you commit the leaſt hoſtility againſt the French army, I ſhall treat you as an enemy; and for this you muſt be accountable, as it is far from my heart and from my intentions.

(Signed) "BUONAPARTE."

Buonaparte, General in Chief, to the People of Egypt.

"For a long time the beys who govern Egypt, have inſulted the French nation, and oppreſſed the merchants with exactions. For a long time this heap of ſlaves, purchaſed in the Caucaſus and Georgia, have tyranniſed over the faireſt part of the world. But God, upon whom all depends, has directed that their empire ſhould finiſh. Inhabitants of Egypt, when the beys tell you I come to deſtroy your religion, believe them not. Anſwer them, that I come to reſcue the rights of the poor from the hands of their tyrants; and that the French reſpect, more than the Mamelukes, God, his prophet, and the Koran. Tell them that all men are equal in the eyes of God. Underſtanding, ingenuity, and ſcience alone, make a difference between them; and what wiſdom, what talents, what virtues diſtinguiſh the Mamelukes, that they ſhould have excluſively all that renders life ſweet and pleaſant? Is there a beautiful woman? She belongs to the Mamelukes. Is there a handſome ſlave, a fine horſe, a fine houſe? They belong to the Mamelukes. Is Egypt their farm? Let them ſhew the leaſe which God has given them, &c. &c. You had once great cities, large canals, much trade; who has deſtroyed them, but the avarice, injuſtice, and tyranny of the Mamelukes? &c. &c. Thrice happy thoſe who are with us! they ſhall proſper in their fortunes and rank—happy thoſe who are neuter! they will have time to learn, to know us, and will be with us. But miſerable, thrice miſerable thoſe who ſhall arm for the Mamelukes, and fight againſt us—there ſhall be no hope for them, they ſhall periſh! &c. &c.

"BUONAPARTE."

But while Buonaparte was thus preparing for the invaſion of Egypt, the Britiſh miniſtry were not

ignorant of what was paſſing. The French had not left the harbour of Toulon many days, before a powerful Engliſh fleet appeared in the Mediterranean, under the command of Admiral Nelſon. The ſquadron was compoſed of

Vanguard, 74, Rear Admiral Sir H. Nelſon, Captain Berry—Orion, 74, Sir J. Saumarez—Culloden, 74, Frowbridge—Alexander, 74, Ball—Zealous, 74, S. Hood—Goliah, 74, Foley—Bellerophon, 74, Derby—Minotaur, 74, Louis—Defence, 74, J. Peyton—Audacious, 74, Gould—Majeſtic, 74, Weſtcott—Swiftſure, 74, Hallowell—Theſeus, 74, Miller—Leander, 50, Thompſon—and Mutine, brig, Hardy.

Ignorance of the tract of the enemy, however, and other circumſtances incidental to an expedition diſpatched at a moment's warning, greatly retarded their purſuit. Buonaparte, well aware of the critical ſituation in which he was placed—a hoſtile nation before him in arms, a nation to which he was a ſtranger, and an Engliſh fleet behind him—landed a conſiderable body of troops without waiting for a general diſembarkment, and advanced towards Alexandria early on the morning of the 2d July, according to promiſe. General Bon commanded on the right, General Kleber in the centre, and General Menou on the left. About 36,000 troops appear to have landed from France, but the preciſe number that were led on to the attack of Alexandria are variouſly ſtated at 2,000, and 4,300. The ſharp-ſhooters and ſome of the moſt expert ſoldiers in the army were appointed to advance as ſkirmiſhers in the front. The advance guards were moleſted all the way to

Alexandria by detached bodies of Arabs, though little inconvenience was felt by these irregular attacks. When they approached the ruined towers of ancient Alexandria, the enemy appeared in readiness to receive them like warriors. Buonaparte attempted a parley; but instead of conversation, batteries were opened upon the French lines. A charge was beat, the walls were scaled, and many of the enemy fled into the town; but the city refused to capitulate. Galled by this determined opposition, the French army rushed into the city of Alexandria, and a dreadful slaughter ensued. The destruction was very great. Though the loss of Buonaparte's troops is not estimated at more than 150 men, both Kleber and Menou were wounded, and many officers of consideration lost their lives.

Sensible as Buonaparte was of the advantages gained by this engagement, he was convinced that before he could entertain hopes of conquering Egypt, Grand Cairo must be taken. Orders were given to have the fleet moored before Aboukir, by which station an open communication could be kept between the port of Alexandria and the Rosetta branch of the Nile.

There are two ways from Alexandria to Grand Cairo; the one across the desert, and the other by Rosetta and the Nile. The way by Rosetta, however, was not only more tedious, but that town was yet in the possession of the Turks, and therefore the

route was fixed for the desert. At the same time, Buonaparte prepared a small flotilla with troops under the command of General Dugua, to sail up the river and meet the army at Rahmaniah. On the 6th of July, General Desaix proceeded across the desert with the first division of the army. They were occasionally attacked by parties of Arabs and Mamelukes; but what rendered the march most oppressive was the scarcity of water, the enemy having filled up all the wells. After the fatigues of two days, they at length reached the banks of the Nile, but the flotilla had not arrived; the wind springing up, however, it soon passed the army, and was attacked by some jerms of Murad Bey, and fellas or peasants, who were numerous on the banks. The flotilla was in danger; but fortunately the army of Buonaparte arrived in time, and the Mamlukes were put to flight, with considerable loss, at the village of Shebrissa. The army continued its march, and on the 19th July arrived at Ameldinar, near the upper part of the Delta. Here the Commander in Chief received information that Murad Bey, with his forces, were in the neighbourhood of the village Embaba. On the following day, they appeared in sight, and no sooner had the troops of Buonaparte halted to enjoy a little repose, than Murad Bey drew out his army in order of battle; it consisted of 6,000 Mamlukes, together with Arabs, fellas, &c. The French army being formed into divisions, the word

of command was given to advance, and the Mamlukes rushed forward with impetuous courage.—They poured with incredible swiftness on the right wing of the French army, commanded by Regnier and Desaix. These veteran columns of the republic stood unmoved till the cavalry of Murad Bey advanced within half range of musket shot, and then a steady fire from the ranks wounded many and killed numbers. The Mamlukes still rushed forward, but their rashness was the forerunner of destruction: their ranks were thinned, and the field covered with their slain. While the divisions of Regnier and Desaix were thus engaged, those of Bon and Menou, in conjunction with troops under General Dugua, made a desperate attack on the village of Embaba, took possession of the entrenchments, and spread desolation to the very precincts of Grand Cairo. The plunder was prodigious. On the morning of the following day, (the 22d July,) the functionaries and principal inhabitants of Grand Cairo appeared on the banks of the Nile to surrender the city, provided their lives and property were preserved. Ibrahim Bey fled towards Syria. The divisions of the different Generals were ordered to take possession of the various fortifications they had acquired in this expedition; and Buonaparte was returning to Cairo, after a fruitless pursuit, when he received the disastrous intelligence of the battle of Aboukir.

On the 31st July, the squadron of Admiral Nelson

was ſeen from the roads of Aboukir. On the 1ſt of Auguſt, they bore down with a preſs of ſail toward the French fleet, which was at anchor there. Between 5 and 6 o'clock in the afternoon, the guns upon the battery of the iſland threw ſome bombs among Admiral Nelſon's ſhips; and ſoon afterwards, the French Admiral, Bouyer, threw out the ſignal for a general engagement. So eager were the Britiſh ſhips to come to action, that each preſſed forward to the van, anxious to ſignalize themſelves. It is not remarkable that ſuch a diſpoſition ſhould have a wonderful effect on the minds of the ſeamen. The reſult ſhows how, under many diſadvantages of ſituation and numbers, it actuated them. Soon after 9 o'clock, the ſubmiſſion of the enemy had extended to their fourth ſhip. The French admiral had received two wounds during the engagement, which proved fatal; and to heighten the confuſion, the ſhip l'Orient, under his command, was preſently diſcovered to be in flames, and the fire having reached her magazines, about 10 o'clock ſhe blew up with a tremendous exploſion. For a few minutes after this diſaſter, an awful ſilence was preſerved, indicating the impreſſion on the minds of the combatants on the dreadful event. In a quarter of an hour, this impreſſion ſeemed to be effaced by the recollection of the duty which remained to be performed.—The conteſt was renewed with vivacity, and the firing did not ceaſe till about 3 o'clock on the morning, when all, weary with fatigue, ſeemed willing to retire.

On Thursday the 2d Auguſt, when the day opened, how different was the proſpect from that with which the preceding evening cloſed! The greateſt part of the ſhips which formed the van of the French line diſmaſted, and all ſtruck!—not a veſtige of their admiral's ſhip to be ſeen!

The renown of this action has reached the limit of the globe, and been re-echoed back with the high praiſes ſo juſtly merited. According to terms of agreement, the ſick and wounded French, together with the priſoners, were ſent to Alexandria. The number thus diſpoſed of was 3,100, 800 of whom were wounded. Among the multitudes killed in battle, the French, beſides their Admiral, had to lament the death of Caſa Banca, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction. The Britiſh loſt Captain Weſtcott, and 15 other officers; 202 ſeamen were killed, and 677 perſons wounded.

Nothing could exceed the joy felt in London on the news of this ſignal victory: the Common Council voted a ſword of 200 guineas value, to be given with their warmeſt thanks to the hero of the Nile; the Parliament joined the general cry of approbation, and the King was pleaſed to create him a peer of Great Britain, by the title of Baron Nelſon of the Nile, and Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk. So much enraptured was the Grand Signior at this ſignal defeat of the French, that, in the emotions of his joy, he plucked a diamond digrette from

one of his moſt coſtly turbans, and ſet it apart for the victorious admiral. To this chelenk, or plume of triumph, was added a peliſſe of ſable fur, with broad ſleeves; 2,000 ſequins were alſo given to be diſtributed among the ſailors of the Britiſh fleet; and as a mark of the higheſt reſpect, Sir Sidney Smith, the Britiſh Plenipotentiary at the Court of Conſtantinople, was requeſted to go on board a Turkiſh frigate and convey the preſents to Admiral Nelſon.

To retain Egypt in the poſſeſſion of France, Buonaparte deemed it expedient to eſtabliſh a new ſyſtem of government; and therefore, to preſerve a ſemblance of the old, he conſtituted a divan, conſiſting of ſeven members, choſen from the moſt reſpectable families of the country. In every province there was to be a French commander, an Aga of the Janizaries, and an Intendant to collect the impoſts. While Buonaparte was profeſſing attachment to the intereſt of the Ottomans in Egypt, Ruffin, the charge d'affaires of the French republic at Conſtantinople, had denied the intentions of his country upon Egypt, to lull the anxiety of the court: But the duplicity of this conduct was gradually unfolded, and the wrath of the Grand Signior was dreadfully diſplayed. The ſupreme vizier, Izzed Mohammed, was depoſed, and every energy put in motion to repel the invaders from the valuable province of Egypt. Thus encouraged to hope for deliverance

from the power of France, ſymptoms of diſcontent began to appear at Grand Cairo. The natives remained neutral, for they had little to expect from any change; the Greeks adhered to the commander in chief, for they had been oppreſſed by the late government; but the Turks roſe in rebellion, and on the 21ſt of October the whole city of Grand Cairo was in commotion. In attempting to quell the inſurrection, the French General, Dupuy, was aſſaſſinated, together with other officers and ſoldiers. The French drums beat to arms, and the ſtreets were ſcenes of carnage; the artillery poured deſtruction upon the town, and conſternation and horror pervaded the city. On the third day tranquillity was reſtored.

Upon the 24th December, General Buonaparte, with ſeveral members of the inſtitute, departed for Suez, with commercial views, relative to the trade of the Red Sea, and having returned by way of Salehiah, he found that Jezzar Paſha was advancing toward Egypt with numerous troops from Syria. The commander in chief of the French army loſt no time in returning the advances of this haughty general. The Grand Vizier, who had formally declared war againſt the republic of France on the 1ſt September, equipped a fleet to cruize in the Levant, and co-operate with their army. Sir Sidney Smith, with a few veſſels from England under his command, and who had alſo great ſway in the naval affairs of the Ottoman Court, appeared off the coaſt

of Alexandria, and bombarded the city in the beginning of February. Though, by this means, the communication with Alexandria was blocked up, by the Roſetta branch of the Nile, Buonaparte had opened the canal which leads from Ramaniah to that city, ſo that proviſions could be conveyed without difficulty to Alexandria from Grand Cairo. Sir S. Smith was apprehenſive that the appearance of the French army, while Jezzar was unſupported, would ſtrike him with fear, and diſconcert the ſcheme of recovering Egypt; he therefore ſailed for St. John d'Acre, with the Tigre, and the two frigates, Theſeus and Alliance. The French infantry deſtined for this Syrian expedition amounted to 10,000 men, and were compoſed of the diviſions of Kleber, Bon, Lannes, and Regnier; but beſides theſe, there were cavalry, &c. Deſaix was ordered to follow the army of Murad Bey into Upper Egypt; Marmont was intruſted with the command of Alexandria; Menou was left at Roſetta; Degua remained at Grand Cairo; and for every department an officer of diſtinction was appointed. On the 10th February, Buonaparte left Cairo to join his army, and on the 17th arrived at Al Ariſh, the appointed place of rendezvous. This village was occupied by 2,000 of Jezzar's troops, but before the arrival of the commander-in-chief, it had been inveſted by the diviſions of Regnier and Kleber. On the night of the 14th, they had ſurpriſed a party of Mamlukes who were

guarding provisions for Jezzar's army in Al Arish, which struck a general terror into their troops. On the 18th, the French took a favourable position on the hills of sand between the village and the sea, and having speedily made a breach in a tower of the fort, they commanded the garrison to surrender.—Discouraged by the power and discipline of the French army, the troops of Al Jezzar listened to terms of capitulation, and in the course of two days surrendered the village and fort. The terms were protection to the inhabitants, and liberty for the soldiers to retire across the desert to the city of Bagdad. The French army were now to push forward to their destination. The division of Kleber, being the advance guard, was intentionally led astray by the guides, and those of Generals Bon and Lannes, following the same route, were also misled. Regnier's division was left to put Al Arish in a proper state of defence, and after an interval of two days, to follow as the rear guard. General Buonaparte, with his staff and escort, arrived at Kan Jones by the direct road, and were surprised that no division of the army had either reached it before them, or were then in view. Suspecting the cause of this delay, Buonaparte turned into the desert and compelled some Arabs to assist him in finding out the army, who had been exposed to so much unnecessary fatigue. When they arrived at Gaza, they found it deserted and open for their reception. Two days were spent in

arranging the government of the town, and on the 28th February the French army marched towards Jaffa.

After having refreſhed themſelves at Ezdude, Ramla, and Lidda, the advance guard ſat down before Jaffa on the 3d March, 1799. The diviſions of Generals Bon and Lannes were appointed to inveſt the town, while General Kleber was ordered to cover the ſiege on the ſide towards Acre, by poſting himſelf with the cavalry and his own diviſion on the river Lahoya. At day-break on the 6th March, the cannon began to play upon the town, and in a few hours a breach was made in the wall. The French entered, and the conflict was dreadful. The garriſon, which conſiſted of ſeveral thouſand men, refuſing to lay down their arms, a tremendous ſlaughter enſued. Many pieces of artillery were found in Jaffa, and ſeveral ſmall trading veſſels were ſeized in the harbour. Here, as well as every where among his conqueſts in the eaſt, Buonaparte conſtituted a Divan; and having appointed Greſſier to the command of the town, he prepared the army to march for St. John d'Acre. As the battering cannon could not be dragged acroſs the deſert from Egypt, Vice-Admiral Peree had been ordered to have them conveyed by ſea from Alexandria to Jaffa. This was a neceſſary, though hazardous attempt, for ſhips of Britain and Conſtantinople were cruiſing in the Levant. The knowledge of this having been com-

municated to Sir Sidney Smith, he ſtationed the Theſeus off Jaffa to intercept the convoy. The flotilla, which conſiſted of a corvette and 9 gun-boats, was firſt ſeen from the Tigre herſelf, and the crew of that ſhip took 7 of the ſmaller veſſels as they were doubling a point of land near Mount Carmel; conſequently the French were diſappointed of the artillery they expected. In the mean time, the commander in chief took poſſeſſion of an eminence which commanded the town of Acre, and on the 20th March opened trenches on the eaſt ſide of the city.

On the ninth day after the commencement of the ſiege, they effected a breach, and the French army, elated with their victory at Jaffa, ſprang in, but were repulſed with great loſs. The equinoctial gales being over, and no enemy at ſea able to annoy him, Sir S. Smith anchored in the road of St. John d'Acre. He joined his force to the Turkiſh garriſon, under the command of Al Jezzar, and with united courage a vigorous ſally was made from the fort. The grand object was to deſtroy the mine which the French were puſhing forward with ſo much danger to the town. The Turkiſh forces, with native courage, but without ſufficient ſilence, approached the works of the enemy before dawn of day, and fought with great effect. The Britiſh entered the mine and damaged the works; this important ſervice was performed at great expence. Among the wounded were Lieut. Wright, Lieut. Beattie, and Mr Janverin;

among the killed was Major Oldfield, whoſe ſkill was highly valuable, and who, at the taking of the Cape of Good Hope, was the firſt man that entered the works.

When Ibrahim Bey fled from Egypt, he took the route of Damaſcus, and by his inſtigations the whole regions of Syria were in commotion. On the 11th of April, the deſultory forces, which were threatening the French invaders, aſſembled from all points in the neighbourhood of Mount Tabor; and imagination, aided by fear, having greatly exaggerated their numbers, ſtated them at 40 or 50,000. So vaſt an army on the plains of Eſdrelon or Fuli, created in the breaſt of Buonaparte the moſt ſerious alarms. He was aware of the danger ſuch numerous hoſts might occaſion if they approached the vicinity of St. John d'Acre, therefore he reſolved to meet them at a diſtance and give them battle.—Leaving the diviſions of Regnier and Lannes to carry on the ſiege, he departed from Acre on the 15th April, and proceeded to the aſſiſtance of Generals Kleber and Junot. On the morning of the following day, he reached the heights of Fuli, and ſaw General Kleber ſurrounded by a number of cavalry, which muſt have exceeded 20,000. In this critical ſituation, the Commander in Chief adopted the moſt deciſive meaſures. Rampon was ſent with a large reinforcement to the aſſiſtance of Kleber; Le Turo was diſpatched, with the cavalry under his

command, to attack a body of Mamlukes; and Gen. Vial was directed to aſſume a poſt upon the mountains, which might prevent the enemy's eſcape among their defiles. When the proper diſpoſitions were completed, the appointed ſignal of diſcharging an eight-pounder was promptly given, and the report inſpired Kleber with freſh vigour. He ruſhed into the village of Fuli, defeating a number of the enemy; and being joined by the reinforcements, he attacked the main body of the Turkiſh forces, and put them to flight. But their retreat was difficult, for Gen. Murat had occupied the bridge of Jacob, which is over the Jordan, near the lake Tabaria, and the poſition of Vial prevented them from taking ſhelter among the mountains of Napluſiam. In this critical ſituation, they threw themſelves behind Mount Tabor, and in their flight towards Damaſcus, croſſed the waters of Jordan at the bridge of Giz al Mecani. Every perſon who was intruſted with a command appears to have done his duty; and Buonaparte returned to Acre rejoicing in his ſucceſs. On the 25th of April, the ſiege was renewed with vigour, but the attack proved abortive. Independent of the determined reſiſtance of the beſieged, the ſhip Tigre was moored on one ſide, and Theſeus on the other, ſo that the croſs fire of both flanked the walls of the town, and ſpread deſolation among the French troops.

On the 7th of May, a fleet of thirty ſail made its

appearance. They were the ſhips which were commanded by Haſſan Bey, and were intended to have joined Sir S. Smith off the coaſt of Alexandria; but the circumſtances of the war had altered their deſtination, and they were commanded to ſail for Acre. As might be expected, this new force filled the French commander with anxiety, and at length diſcontent was viſible in his army; the beſt troops refuſed to march into certain deſtruction, and after a ſiege of 60 days, they were obliged to abandon their views on St. John d'Acre.

Buonaparte perceiving his operations againſt St. John d'Acre quite unavailing, reſolved to withdraw towards Grand Cairo. The more effectually to conceal his intention of departing, he continued to fire inceſſantly upon the town, and took precautions in the night time to prepare the way for a ſafe eſcape. They ſet out on the evening of the 20th May, and arrived at Jaffa on the fourth day of their march.

The French aſcribed their diſappointment at St. John d'Acre to the want of ſome battering cannon, which were ſeized by Sir S. Smith on their way from Alexandria. We muſt therefore ſeek for the principal cauſe of their failure in other circumſtances which attended their ſituation. Their cruelties at Jaffa ſunk deep into the remembrance of the Turks, and the garriſon of St. John d'Acre reſolved to die rather than ſurrender.

Having traced the movements of the French

armies in the lower parts of Egypt, let us now turn our attention to the operations of Desaix, in the neighbourhood of Alsaid. Soon after the naval battle of Aboukir, this young and active general was appointed to follow Murad Bey, and, if possible, subdue that enterprising chief. On the 3rd of Oct., 1799, Murad Bey, with his army, was discovered on the heights of Menekiah, and General Desaix hastened to attack him. As he advanced towards the position, his troops were exposed to occasional assaults, and the main body of Murad's forces seemed ready to give battle; but as soon as the cannon and the horse artillery began to take effect, the Mamluke cavalry of Murad fled in disorder.

It was about this time that Buonaparte retreated from Syria; and soon afterwards Ibrahim Bey appeared with considerable forces in the neighbourhood of Gaza. Desaix was left in Upper Egypt, to preserve the French conquests in that part of the country. Buonaparte himself marched, with a chosen body of men, towards the pyramids of Giza, to oppose the progress of Murad Bey; but that Mamluke chief had left Giza on the day the commander in chief arrived, and fled from the French troops into the province of Fayum.

But during these operations, which seemed to indicate his determination to remain, Buonaparte had secretly resolved to return to Paris, and a few generals and artists were to accompany him. Such of

them as were not then in Alexandria, were ſent to that city on ſome oſtenſible buſineſs, and Denon was enjoined to appear in his character of an artiſt, to take charge of the trophies which had been obtained from the Turks in the battle of Aboukir. Two frigates, ready for ſea, lay at ſingle anchor without the new port of Alexandria, and on the 25th of Auguſt they ſet ſail, and a north-eaſt wind enabled them to ſteer along the coaſt of Africa, in order to avoid the Britiſh cruiſers. Though the favourable breeze was not conſtant, they ſtill directed their courſe near the ſouthern ſhores of the Mediterranean, till they deſcried Sardinia, and then ſteering for Corſica, they anchored in the bay of Ajaccio on the 1ſt of September. Having tarried in that iſland ſeven days, the veſſels proceeded on their voyage; but were ſeen and chaſed by a Britiſh ſquadron. Gantheaume, who had the command of the frigates, propoſed to alter their courſe and return to Corſica; but Buonaparte now reſumed that command, which he had not exerciſed ſince he left the coaſt of Alexandria, and enjoined the admiral to ſteer for a port in France. The darkneſs of the night favoured his eſcape, and he arrived ſafely in the port of Frejus, on the 14th of September, 1799.

Never was a departure conducted with ſo much ſecrecy, and yet productive of events ſo intereſting. Beſſieres, Buonaparte's chief of brigade, received a ſealed note from the commander in chief, which he

was not to unfold till the 26th of Auguſt, and then he was to open it at a certain hour and on a ſpecified point of the ſea ſhore. His orders were to depart for France, without revealing the command till he was out at ſea, and every thing in train to carry him to Europe. A ſimilar note was conveyed to Kleber, but he was enjoined not to examine its contents till 24 hours after the veſſels had put to ſea. The import of this letter was appointing him commander in chief of the army in the Eaſt, and ordering Deſaix to proſecute his deſigns in Upper Egypt. Whatever were the motives which induced Buonaparte, he was received in Corſica, his native iſland, with acclamations of joy; and when he appeared at Paris, he was ſo far from being cenſured, that the weakened authorities of the ſtate durſt not preſume to call his conduct in queſtion, and the diſſatisfied multitudes hailed him as the joy of the nation.—Sir R. Wilſon has accuſed this illuſtrious general of butchering, in cold blood, 3,800 Turkiſh priſoners, who had been ſpared in taking the town of Jaffa; he has been branded with adminiſtering opium, in ſuch copious draughts, to the ſick and wounded of his own ſoldiers, in the hoſpitals, that they fell into ſlumbers from which they never awaked. For a refutation of theſe charges, we would refer our readers to a recent publication from the pen of Mr Warden, ſurgeon of the Northumberland, the ſhip which conveyed the fallen hero to St. Helena.

On the 24th of January, 1800, a treaty was entered into, in the Turkiſh camp before Al Ariſh, by which the French became bound to evacuate Egypt in a limited time. Under the plea, however, of not having the proper attention paid to his troops, General Kleber contrived to break off the treaty. So weakened was Murad Bey at this time, from the repeated deſeats he had received, that he gladly made peace with Kleber, and, as a tributary prince, conſented to govern a diſtrict of Upper Egypt. Every thing ſeemed to promiſe happier effects than thoſe which had been lately experienced; when on the 13th of June, while Kleber was walking, without ſuſpicion or fear, on the terrace of his own garden in Grand Cairo, an aſſaſſin ſtabbed him with a poniard, and he ſoon expired.

After the death of this illuſtrious general, the chief command of the French army devolved upon General Menou. But the period when the dominion of France ſhould be no more in the Empire of the Eaſt was faſt approaching. Great as was the ardour of Menou, difficulties ſeemed to crowd upon him in ſuch rapid ſucceſſion, as if determined to oppoſe his views. Sir Ralph Abercrombie had arrived from England with freſh reinforcements to re-conquer Egypt. A new battle of Aboukir was fought; the arms of Britain were victorious, but victory was bought with the death of her Abercrombie. Gen. Belliard had ſurrendered Grand Cairo, and the whole

power of Menou appeared centred in Alexandria. Yet he ſeemed reſolved "to hold it out and fight it to the laſt." At length he requeſted three days to prepare terms of ſurrendering. On the evening of the laſt day, a meſſenger arrived at the camp of Sir J. Hutchinſon, ſoliciting the further indulgence of 36 hours; but the extenſion of the truce was rejected, and the renewal of hoſtilities ſternly appointed. A ſhort ſpace only was allowed to draw up articles of capitulation. In one of theſe articles, it was propoſed that the truce ſhould be continued for 18 days, and then the French army would ſurrender, if no aid had previouſly arrived. The terms of Menou were refuſed with indignation; in the agonies of ſhame and diſappointment, he agreed to the ſtipulations he had formerly rejected, and on the 2nd September, 1800, the Britiſh having taken poſſeſſion of the French lines, the combined forces became maſters of Egypt. As ſoon as the capitulation was ſigned, the troops of Britain and France were conveyed with all poſſible ſpeed from the ſhores of Egypt, to the places of their deſtination. On the 18th September the keys were delivered to the Capitan Pacha; but a diviſion of Britiſh ſoldiers, under the command of the Earl of Cavan, were retained as a temporary garriſon for the city. Egypt was not evacuated by the Britiſh till the 14th March, 1803.

In drawing this hiſtory to a concluſion, our minds forcibly recur to the ſentence with which it was

commenced.—"Too ſevere O Egypt has been thy lot; too ſtriking an example doſt thou afford of the inſtability of human glory. It is in thy ſchool that the proud ſhould learn humility and the atheiſt religion; more inſtruction will they gain in the review of thy fortune than from the dreams of philoſophers, or the leſſons of divines." This ill fated empire ſtill more deſerves our compaſſion and commiſeration when it is conſidered that ſhe has conſtantly fallen a victim to the ambition of others, not to any criminality of her own; that her native warriors have been conquerors of their inheritance rather than invaders of the rightful poſſeſſions of foreigners; that her misfortunes have augmented in proportion as her policy was leſs crooked, and her councils more candid, than thoſe of the principalities by which ſhe was in turn flattered, cozened, and betrayed. The Britain of the part of the world on which ſhe ſtands, future hiſtorians will draw a parallel, of which the veil of prejudice now hides the diſtinct perception, between her and our own oft deluded, ſtill proſperous, but, we fear, falling country. The difference that will be diſcovered on the compariſon, will frequently be found to be in favour of the people of England on the one ſide, and the governors of Grand Cairo on the other. But the philoſopher, whatever ſlight ſhades of variation he may obſerve in the progreſs of the two nations, cannot ſuppreſs a ſigh when he ſees how probable it is that the ſinking

of the eaſtern is but a prophetic ſymbol of the downfal of the weſtern kingdom. There is the ſame ſuperiority of intellect, the ſame riſe of civilization, the ſame overweening luxury paralyzing and deſtroying the greatneſs by which it was occaſioned. Yet Egypt may once more become the granary of the world and the mart of ſcience, and the returning literature of Greece may be the firſt ſtep towards the reſtoration of the learning of Alexandria. A late traveller declares, that the tribute to Conſtantinople ſcarcely pays the expenſes of the caravan by which it is conveyed. The power of the Grand Seignior is itſelf in its dotage. Conſiderate politicians have declared that two years will light it to the tomb in which all tyranny ſooner or later muſt repoſe. Let us hope that the extinction of deſpotiſm on the Boſphorus will be the ſignal for the re-kindling of freedom on the Nile. Reaſon rejoices in the anticipation; may ſhe never have to regret the miſuſe of a proſperity ſo "devoutly to be wiſhed."

FINIS.

7105



[*Printed by J. Mitchell, Newcastle.*]